

PIGS' MEAT;

OR,

LESSONS

FOR THE

SWINISH MULTITUDE.

PUBLISHED IN WEEKLY PENNY NUMBERS.

Collected by the Poor Man's Advocate (an old Veteran in the Cause of Freedom) in the Course of his Reading for more than Twenty Years.

INTENDED

To promote among the Labouring Part of Mankind proper Ideas of their Situation, of their Importance, and of their Rights.

AND TO CONVINCE THEM

That their forlorn Condition has not been entirely overlooked and forgotten, nor their just Cause unpleaded, neither by their Maker nor by the best and most enlightened of Men in all Ages.

For the oppression of the poor, for the fighing of the needy, now will I arise, faith the Lord, I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him. PSALM XII. ver. 5.

And the Lord said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their task-masters: for I know their sorrows. Exodus iii. ver. 7.

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Behold, I conspired against my master, and slew him: but who slew all these? 2 Kings x. 9.

INTRODUCTION.

A judicious Compiler is better than a bad Author.

THE BEE AND THE SPIDER.

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FROM DODSLEY'S FABLES.

THE Bee and the Spider once entered into a warm debate, which was the better artist. The Spider urged her skill in the mathematics, and afferted, that no one was half so well acquainted as herself with the construction of lines, angles, squares and circles: that the web she daily wove was a specimen of art inimitable by any other creature in the universe: and, besides, that her works were derived from herself alone, the product of her own bowels; whereas the boasted honey of the Bee was stolen from every herb and slower of the field; nay, that she had obligations even to the meanest weeds. To this the Bee replied, that she was in hopes the art of extracting boney from the meanest weeds would at least have been allowed her as an excellence; and, that, as to her fealing sweets from the herbs, and flowers of the field, her skill was therein so conspicuous, that no flower ever suffered the least diminution of its fragrance from so delicate an ope-Then, as to the Spider's vaunted knowledge ration. in the construction of lines and angles, she believed she might fafely rest the merits of her cause on the regularity alone of her combs; but fince she could add this, the sweetness and excellence of her honey, and the various purposes to which her wax was employed, she had nothing to fear from the comparison of her skill with that of the weaver of a flimfy cobweb; for the value of every art, she oblerved, is chiefly to be estimated by its use. FROM

FROM CATO'S LETTERS.

ON FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

SIR,

WITHOUT freedom of thought, there can be no fuch thing as wisdom; and no fuch thing as public liberty, without freedom of speech: which is the right of every man, as far as by it he does not hurt and controul the right of another; and this is the only check which it ought to suffer,

the only bounds which it ought to know.

This facred privilege is so effential to free government, that the security of property and the freedom of speech always go together; and in those wretched countries where a man cannot call his tongue his own, he can scarce call any thing else his own. Whoever would overthrow the liberty of the nation, must begin by subduing the liberty of speech; a thing terrible to public traitors.

This fecret was fo well known to the court of King Charles the first, that his wicked ministry procured a proclamation to forbid the people to talk of parliaments, which those traitors had laid To affert the undoubted right of the subject, and defend his majesty's legal prerogative, was called difaffection, and punished as fedition. Nay, people were forbid to talk of religion in their families: for the priests too had combined to cook up tyranny, and fuppress truth and the law. While the late King James, when Duke of York, went avowedly to mals, men were fined, imprifoned, and undone, for faying he was a papist: and that King Charles the fecond might live more fecurely a papist, there was an act of parliament made, declaring it treason to say that he was one.

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That men ought to speak well, of their governors, is true, while their governors deserve to be well spoken of; but to do public mischief without hearing of it, is only the prerogative and selicity of tyranny: a free people will be shewing that they

are fo, by their freedom of speech.

The administration of government is nothing else but the attendance of the trustees of the people upon the interest and affairs of the people. And as it is the part and business of the people, for whose sake alone all public matters are, or ought to be transacted, to see whether they be well or ill transacted; so it is the interest, and ought to be the ambition, of all honest magistrates, to have their deeds openly examined, and publicly scanned; only the wicked governors of men dread what is said of them.

Freedom of speech is the great bulwark of liberty; they prosper and die together: and it is the terror of traitors and oppressors, and a barrier against them. It produces excellent writers, and encourages men of fine genius. Tacitus tells us, that the Roman commonwealth bred great and numerous authors, who wrote with equal boldness and eloquence: but when it was enflaved those great wits were no more. Tyranny had usurped the place of equality, which is the foul of liberty, and destroyed public courage. The minds of men, terrified by unjust power, degenerated into all the vileness and methods of servitude: abject, sycophancy and blind fubmission grew the only means of preferment, and indeed of fafety; men durst not open their mouths but to flatter.

Pliny the younger observes, that this dread of tyranny had such effect, that the senate, the great Roman senate, became at last stupid and dumb. Hence, says he, our spirit and genius are stupisted,

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broken and funk for ever. And in one of his Epistles, speaking of the works of his uncle, he makes an apology for eight of them, as not written with the same vigour which was to be found in the rest; for that these eight were written in the reign of Nero, when the spirit of writing was

cramped with fear.

I have long thought that the world are very much mistaken in their idea and distinction of libels. It has been hitherto generally understood that there are no other libels but those against magistrates, and those against private men: now to me there feems to be a third fort of libels, full as destructive as any of the former can possibly be, I mean libels against the people. It was otherwise at Athens and Rome; where, though, particular men, and even great men, were often treated with much freedom and feverity, when they deferved it; yet the people, the body of the people, were fpoken of with the utmost regard and reverence: the facred privileges of the people, the inviolable majesty of the people, and the unappealable judgment of the people, were phrases common in those wife, great, and free cities. Other modes of speech are since grown fashionable, and popular madness is now almost proverbial: but this madness of theirs, whenever it happens, is derived from external causes. Oppression, they say, will make a wife man mad; and delusion has not less force; but where there are neither oppression nor impostors, the judgment of the people in the business of property, the preservation of which is the principal business of government, does rarely err. Perhaps they are destitute of grimace, mystery, referve, and other accomplishments of courtiers; but as these are only masks to conceal the absence of honesty and sense, the people, who possess as B 3

they do the substance, have reason to despise such

infipid and contemptible shadows.

Machiavel, in the chapter where he proves that a multitude is wifer and more constant than a prince, complains, that the credit which the people should be in declines daily: For, says he, every man has liberty to speak what he pleases against them, but against a prince no man can talk without a thousand apprehensions and dangers. I have indeed often wondered, that the inveighing against the interest of the people, and calling their liberties in question, as has been and is commonly done amongst us by old knaves and young fools, has

never been made an express crime.

I must own, I know not what treason is, if sapping and betraying the liberties of a people be not treason, in the eternal and original nature of Let it be remembered for whose sake government is, or could be, appointed; then let it be considered who are more to be regarded, the governors or the governed; they indeed owe one another mutual duties; but if there be any transgressions committed, the side that is most obliged ought doubtless to bear the most: and yet it is so. far otherwise, that almost all over the earth, the people, for one injury that they do their governors, receive ten thousand from them: nay, in some countries, it is made death and damnation, not to bear all the oppressions and cruelties which men, made wanton by power, inflict upon those that gave it them.

The truth is; If the people are suffered to keep their own, it is the most that they desire: but even that is a happiness which in few places falls to their lot; they are frequently robbed by those whom they pay to protect them. I know that it is a general charge against the people, that they are tur-

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bulent, restless, fickle, and unruly; than which there can be nothing more untrue, for they are only so where they are made so. As to their being fickle, it is so false, that, on the contrary, they have almost ever a strong bent to received customs, and as strong a partiality to names and families that they have been used to: and as to their being turbulent, it is as false; since there is scarce an example in an hundred years of any people's giving governors any uneasiness, till their governors had made them uneasy: nay, for the most part, they bear many evils without returning one, and seldom throw off their burdens so long as they can stand under them.

From Swift's Sermon on False Witness.

Second way by which a man becometh a false witness is, when he mixeth falsehood and truth together, or concealeth fome circumstances, which, if they were told, would destroy the falsehoods he uttered. So the two false witnesses who accused our Saviour before the chief priefts, by a very little perverting his words. would have made him guilty of a capital crime; for so it was among the Jews to prophely any evil against the temple. This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to rebuild it in. three days "; whereas the words, as our Saviour fpoke them, were to another end, and differently expressed: for when the Jews asked him to shew them a fign, he faid, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. In such cases as these, an innocent man is half confounded, and looketh as if he were guilty, fince he neither can deny

deny his words, nor perhaps readily firip them from the malicious additions of a false witness.

Thirdly, A man is a falle witness, when, in accusing his neighbour, he endeavoureth to aggravate, by his gestures and tone of his voice, or when he chargeth a man with words which were only repeated or quoted from somebody else. As if any one should tell me that he heard another speak certain dangerous and seditious speeches, and I should immediately accuse him for speaking them himself; and so drop the only circumstance that made him innocent. This was the case of St. Stephen. The falle witnesses said, This man ceafeth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place and the law *. Whereas St. Stephen faid no fuch words, but only repeated fome prophelies of Jeremiah or Malachi, which threatened Jerusalem with destruction if it did not repent: However, by the fury of the people, this innocent holy person was stoned to death for words he never spoke.

Fourthly, The blackest kind of false witnesses are those who do the offices of the devil, by tempting their brethren in order to betray them. I cannot call to mind any inflances of this kind mentioned in holy scripture; but I am asraid this vile practice hath been too much followed in the When a man's temper hath been fo foured by his misfortunes and hard usage, that perhaps he hath reason enough to complain; then one of these seducers, under the pretence of friendship, will feem to lament his case, urge the hardships he hath suffered, and endeavour to raise his passions, until he hath said something that a malicious informer can pervert or aggravate against

him in a court of justice.

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Fifthly, Whoever beareth witness against his neighbour, out of a principle of malice and revenge, from any old grudge, or hatred to his person; such a man is a false witness in the sight of God, although what he says be true; because the motive or cause is evil, not to serve his prince or country, but to gratify his own resentments. And, therefore, although a man thus accused may be very justly punished by the law, yet this doth by no means acquit the accuser, who, instead of regarding the public service, intended only to glut

his private rage and spite.

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Sixthly, I number among falle witnesses all those who make a trade of being informers, in hope of favour and reward; and to this end employ their time, either by listening in public places, to catch up an accidental word, or in corrupting men's fervants to discover any unwary expression of their mafter; or thrusting themselves into company, and then using the most indecent scurrilous language; fastening a thousand falsehoods and icandals upon a whole party, on purpole to provoke fuch an answer as they may turn to an acculation. And truly this ungodly race is faid to be grown for numerous, that men of different parties can hardly converse together with any security. Even the pulpit hath not been free from the milreprelentations of these informers; of whom the clergy have not wanted occasions to complain with holy David: They daily mistake my words, all they imagine is to do me evil. Nor is it any wonder at all, that this trade of informing should be now in a flourishing condition, fince our case is manifeltly thus; we are divided into two parties, with very little charity or temper toward each other: the prevailing fide may talk of past things as they please with security, and generally do it in the moit

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most provoking words they can invent; while those who are down are sometimes tempted to speak in favour of a lost cause, and therefore without great caution, must needs be often caught tripping, and thereby furnish plenty of materials for witnesses and informers.

Lastly, Those may well be reckoned among false witnesses against their neighbour, who bring him into trouble and punishment by such accusations as are of no consequence at all to the public, nor can be of any other use but to create vexation. Such witnesses are those who cannot hear an idle intemperate expression but they must immediately run to the magistrate to inform; or perhaps wrangling in their cups over night, when they were not able to speak or apprehend three words of common sense, will pretend to remember every thing in the morning, and think themselves very properly qualified to be accusers of their brethren.

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It might perhaps be thought proper to have added something by way of advice to those who are unhappily engaged in this abominable trade and sin of bearing salse witness; but I am far from believing or supposing any of that destructive tribe are now my hearers. I look upon them as a fort of people that seldom frequent these holy places, where they can hardly pick up any materials to serve their turn, unless they think it worth their while to misrepresent or pervert the words of the preacher: and whoever is that way disposed, I doubt cannot be in a very good condition to edify and reform himself by what he heareth. God in his mercy preserve us all from the guilt of this

this grievous fin forbidden in my text *, and from

the snares of those who are guilty of it!

I shall conclude with one or two precepts given by Moses from God to the children of Israel, in the xxiii. of Exod. 1, 2.

Thou shalt not raise a false report: put not thine hand with the wicked, to be an unrighteous

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Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil, neither shalt thou speak in a cause to decline after many, to wrest judgment.

Now to God the Father, &c.

* Exod. xx. 16. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy Neighbour.

ON THE EXECUTION OF LOUIS CAPET.

From a pamphlet entitled, " Peace and Union," by Wm. Frend, M. A.

Louis CAPET has afforded an excellent topick for parliamentary declamation. Let us strip the subject of figures of rhetorick, and no Englishman need be alarmed at the execution of an individual at Paris. Louis Capet was once King of France, and entitled to the honours of that exalted station. The supreme power of the nation declared that France should be a Republic: from that moment Louis Capet lost his titles. He was accused of enormous crimes, confined as a state prisoner, tried by the National Convention, found guilty, condemned, and executed. What is there wonderful in all this? Our revolution, the boast of the present days, pursued the same conduct

duct as nearly as possible. Our Convention de. clared, that James the Second should be no longer king: it did not chuse to abolish kingship, but dignified William the Third with regal honours, James was stripped of his titles, and became plain James Stuart, and the republican William became a fovereign. James was not tried, condemned and executed, because he faved his life by flight: but the laws against himself and his son, and the proceedings in the years fifteen and forty-five, must convince the most superficial reasoner, that the maxims of the English and French nations, with respect to the dethroning of Kings, are exactly the same. But some one will say, Louis Capet was unjustly condemned. Ninety-nine out of a hundred, who make this objection, have not given themselves the trouble of examining the records of the trial; and why should I give greater credit to the remaining objector than to the verdict of the court? If Louis Capet did when king encourage the invalion of his country, however we may be inclined to pity the unfortunate man, for the error of his conduct, we have no right to proclaim him innocent in point of law. It is, in fhort, no business of ours; and if all the crowned heads on the continent are taken off, it is no buffness of ours. We should be unworthy of the constitution settled at the revolution, and enemies to the Brunswick family now feated on our throne, if we denied to any nation the right of fettling, as it pleafed, its own internal government. These sentiments do not prevent us from commiferating the fituation of the French refugees. They are entitled to our compassion: and it is but right that we should attend to their distresses, fince foreign countries have been put to the expence of maintaining those refugees from our own ifland

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fland, who, for their attachment to an ancient family, were, by the rigour of the two foreign reigns, subjected to all the penalties exacted from recufants by the present government in France.

ON POLITICAL SUPERSTITION.

[From Barlow's Advice to the Privileged Orders.]

THERE is another confideration from which we may argue the total extinction of wars, as a necessary consequence of establishing governments on the representative wisdom of the people. We are all fensible that superstition is a blemish of human nature, by no means confined to subjects connected with religion. Political fuperstition is almost as strong as religious; and it is quite as univerfally used as an instrument of tyranny. To enumerate the variety of ways in which this infirument operates on the mind, would be more difficult than to form a general idea of the result of its operations. In monarchies, it induces men to spill their blood for a particular family, or for a particular branch of that tamily who happens to have been born first, or last; or to have been taught to repeat acertain creed, in preference to other creeds. But the effect which I am going chiefly to notice, is that which respects the territorial boundaries of a government. For a man in Portugal or Spain to prefer belonging to one of those nations rather than the other, is as much superstition, as to prefer the house of Braganza to that of Bourbon, or Mary the fecond of England to her brother. All these subjects of preference stand upon the same footing as the turban and the hat, the cross and the crescent, or the lily and the role.

The boundaries of nations have been fixed for No. II. the

the accommodation of the government, without the least regard to the convenience of the people. Kings and ministers, who make a profitable trade of governing, are interested in extending the limits of their dominion as far as possible. They have a property in the people, and in the territory that they cover. The country and its inhabitants are to them a farm flocked with sheep. When they call up thefe sheep to be sheared, they teach them to know their names, to follow their mafter, and avoid a stranger. By this unaccountable imposition it is, that men are led from one extravagant folly to another, - to adore their king, to boast of their nation, and to wish for conquest, -circumflances equally ridiculous in themselves, and equally incompatible with that rational estimation of things, which arises from the science of liberty.

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The Effects of War on the Poor,

[From Mr. Frend's Pamphlet entitled, " Peace and Union."]

THREE days after the debate on the king's message, I was walking from my friend's house to the neighbouring town, to inspect the printing of these few sheets, and in my way joined company with two men of the village, who, being employed by the Wool-staplers to let out spinning to the poor, had lately received orders to lower the value of labour. We were talking on this fubject, when the exclamations of a groupe of poor women going to market, over-hearing our converfation, made an impression on my mind which all the eloquence of the Houses of Lords and Commons cannot efface. - We are to be sconced threepence in the shilling; let others work for me, I'll not. We are to be sconced a fourth part of our labour.

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labour. What is all this for? I did not dare to tell them what it was for, nor to add infult to misery. What is the beheading of a monarch to them? What is the navigation of the Scheldt to them? What is the freedom of a great nation to them, but reason for joy? Yet the debating only on these subjects has reached their cottages. They are already sconced three-pence in the shilling. What must be their fate, when we suffer under the most odious scourge of the human race, and the accumulation of taxes takes away half of that daily bread which is scarce sufficient at present

for their support?

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Oh! that I had the warning voice of an antient Prophet, that I might penetrate into the inmost recesses of palaces, and appal the haranguers of fenates. I would use no other language than that of the poor market-women. I would cry aloud in the ears of the first magistrate: We are sconced three-pence in the shilling, the fourth part of our labour, for what? I would address myself to the deliberating bodies: We are sconced three-pence in the shilling, the fourth part of our labour, for what? Is there a man that could stand out against this eloquence? Yes. Thousands. Three-pence in the shilling for spinning conveys no ideas to They know not what a cottage is, they know not how the poor live, how they make up their scanty meal. Perhaps there may be some one in our House of Commons, whose feelings are in union with mine; communicate them to your colleagues, impress them with the horror attendant on their deliberations; tell them what the deduction of three-pence in the shilling occasions among the myriads of England, And should any grave courtier, pitying the distresses of the poor, be anxious to relieve them, fay to him, There is an easy method: let the first magistrate,

the peers, the representatives of the people, the rich men of the nation, all who are for war, be sconced one fourth part of their annual income to defray the expence of it. Let them be the first sufferers, let the burden fall on them, not on the poor. Alas! my poor countrymen, how many years calamity awaits you, before a single dish or a glass of wine will be withdrawn from the tables of opulence!

At this moment, perhaps, the decree is gone forth for war. Let others talk of glory, let others celebrate the heroes, who are to deluge the world with blood—the words of the poor market-women will still resound in my ears—We are sconced three-pence in the shilling, one sourth of our labour. For what!!!

A Prognostic of the French Revolution. CHESTERFIELD TO HIS SON.

London, April 13, O. S. 1752.

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Received this moment your letter of the 19th, N. S. with the enclosed pieces relative to the present'dispute between the king and the parliament. I shall return them by Lord Huntingdon, whom you will foon fee at Paris, and who will likewife carry you the piece, which I forgot in making up the packet I fent you by the Spanish Embassador. The representation of the parliament is very well drawn, suaviter in modo, fortiter in re. They tell the king very respectfully that in a certain case, which they should think it criminal to suppose, they would not obey him. This hath a tendency to what we call here revolution principles. I do not know what the Lord's anointed, his vicegerent upon earth, divinely appointed by him, and accountable

FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE. countable to none but him for his actions, will either think or do, upon these symptoms of reason and good-fense, which seem to be breaking out all over France; but this I foresee, that before the end of this century, the trade of both king and priest will not be half to good a one as it has been. Du Clos, in his Reflections, hath observed, and very truly, qu'il y a un germe de raison qui commence à se développer en France. A developpement that must prove fatal to regal and papal pretensions. Prudence may, in many cales, recommend an occafional fubmiffion to either; but when that ignorance, upon which an implicit faith in both could only be founded, is once removed, God's vicegerent, and Christ's vicar, will only be obeyed and believed, as far as what the one orders, and the other lays, is conformable to realon and truth.

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A LESSON FOR ANTIGALLICANS.

Extracts from a Pamphlet, entitled " A Tour through the Theatre of War, in the Months of November and December 1792, and January 1793."

THERE is a vice in the civil polity of almost every state in Europe, that is necessarily the parent of revolution, creating all the misery and crimes that afflict the great mass of mankind, and driving them to infurrection as a last resource. The government draws the money out of the pockets of the poor, to give it, under the denomination of places and pentions, to the rich, The rich avail themselves of this to accumulate property; till at last their colosial stride reaches from province to province, and the whole land, that feems the birth right of the community, is monopolized by a few individuals. The rest of

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of the nation is then left at their mercy; and both the knowledge of mankind and experience prove, that the rest of the nation have nothing to hope for at their hands, but what they can obtain by making their own subservient to the support, the luxury, and the pleasure of their lordly masters, who always take care that the falary of their day's labour shall be precisely enough to supply rest and Thus are firength for the labours of the next. they reduced to mere working automata, with neither the means nor leifure necessary to acquire instruction, or to soften their manners to focial intercourse and er oyments; and thus is the human species degraded. The evil, by a necessary progression, grows greater; for the number of rich growing smaller, in proportion as the most wealthy fwallow up the rest, the demand for labour becomes less, while the competition for employment increases. A harder bargain is consequently made, till at last the point of sufferance is past, the beaft of burden kicks the load off his back, turns to a beast of prey, tears every thing he meets with to pieces, and takes a blind and furious vengeance for all the oppression he has suffered. Of this, continued the Frenchman with a figh, my country is a lamentable example.

After this monopoly of landed property, the grand fource of human vices and misfortunes, the greatest scourge that can afflict a people is an extensive foreign commerce. If by the nation be understood a few merchants, ships owners, ship's husbands, brokers, bankers, manufacturers, and siscal officers, the nation is indeed prosperous when trade is in a thriving state. But if by the nation we may be allowed to understand all those not comprised in the above description, that is to say at least nine tenths of the community, the case is the reverse. It is self evident, that foreign com-

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merce can only confift of exportation and importation, unless indeed where a people should be merely brokers and carriers for others. equally evident, that a country can only export what is produced by the labour of its inhabitants on the foil, or by their drudgery in manufactures. If then no part of what is imported comes to the share of those who drudge and toil, can it be denied that they give up ease, plenty, and leisure, for nothing; that the necessaries of life, the enjoyments. and repole of the many, are facrificed to feed the luxury of the few? What a noble export trade does Ireland carry on in beef, pork, butter, and flour! Well, what does the nation at large, that live in that fertile country, get in return? The advantage of never tasting meat, bread, or butter: of feeding on potatoes and butter-milk, and fleeping among the litter of their pigs: all which their noble landlords. while drinking French wines, and wearing French filks, affure us is valtly conducive to their health! Oh! but in some other countries those who furnish all the exports, obtain a small portion of the returns. Yes: from America a noxious and intoxicating weed, an enervating drink from Asia. and from the other parts of Europe liquid poisons. that do indeed for a moment make them forget the facrifice they colt.

This evil is the offspring of the former: for if property were divided with any tolerable equality, a man would begin by providing amply for his support, comfort, and enjoyment; and would only suffer the surplus to be exchanged for foreign superfluities; nor would he for superfluities condemn himself to incessant labour. I have made an exact calculation, continued he; and I find that four hours of work in a day, in our temperate climates, would suffice for the subsistence

of a man and his family. Those that remain would afford him leifure for instruction and reflection; and it would then become impossible for fuch men to be imposed upon by the cant of a few interested individuals, who assure them that the nation has reached the highest pitch of prosperity, because they themselves have obtained every gratification of riot and luxury that they can devise, But to keep men ignorant, you must make them work, and to make them work you must keep them ignorant. This is the eternal circle in which rolls the torrent of abuse. I have often heard it faid, that Heaven made some for enjoyment, and fome for toil. I confess that I cannot myself see, why those who do nothing should have all, and why those who do all should have nothing.

He held a number of political tenets more extraordinary still. He said, when wars were declared by the caprice, or for the interests of kings, that kings alone should fight the battles; that if a nation at large were confulted, hostilities would rarely occur; that a country should never engage in a war in defence of a state, on which it is found it cannot depend for defence; that a minister, who should attempt to embroil his country for futile or infufficient reasons, should be sent abroad, to fulfil in person the engagements he might have made; that the best way to prevent wars would be for every one to understand the use of arms, which is indeed the bounden duty of every freeman; for without the means of refisting oppreffion, who can flatter himself that he is free?—A large state would then be unattackable, and the fee fimple of a small one would not be worth the conquelt.

He faid, that magistrates, who should assume no improper power, could never be afraid of its being wrested out of their hand; and that the majority

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ty of of a nation has a right to a bad government, upon the absurd supposition of its chusing such a one, in preference to a good one's being thrust down their throats. But these, and many other of his strange opinions, I forbear to mention, less I should expose my new acquaintance to the cenfure of

Those wholesale critics, that in Coffee-Houses cry down all philosophy.

All along the road, from Calais to Dunkirk, from Dunkirk to Lifle, and from Lifle to Valenciennes, we hardly faw a man that had not affumed fomething of a military garb and appearance. Some had a fword and belt thrown over their shoulder, some had a feather in their hats, and some were fully accoutred. In a word, or rather in the words of Shakespeare, we found them

All furnish'd, all in arms, All plum'd like estridges.

The diligence with which they were practifing the military exercise in many places, and the heartiness in the cause that they expressed in all, would have fufficed to convince us, that the idea many people in England affect to entertain of a imall faction domineering it over the whole nation, was totally destitute of foundation, had any proof been wanting to overthrow an opinion to indefenlible. How is it possible for a small part to oppress the whole, when all are armed? Yes: but the party averse to the revolutionists, though the most numerous, are afraid to show themselves.— Why, then, what a wretched opinion must they have of their cause, or what forry dastards must they be! However, to " make assurance doubly lure," I converfed with numbers of people, of all ranks, on my way, and found them, with very few exceptions, agreed upon the great principle of liberty. They frequently lamented that many unwile

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wife steps had been taken by their representatives, and reprobated the infamous crimes of particular factions; but they considered them, at the same time, as partial and accidental abuses of a system generally and essentially good. Here and there I met with a man, who openly regretted the old government; nor was it a little remarkable, that the greatest aristocrats I heard speak of politics, were employed by the new government in the civil and military line. Let it however be remembered, that the Department of the North is one of those the most suspected of aristocracy

On December 6th we set off for Brussels. Desirous of not meeting with the same difficulties in our way that we had experienced in coming from Valenciennes, we hired an excellent carriage, with four horses. This was the more necessary, as we did not leave Mons till the morning was far advanced. We found the road entirely covered with convoys going to the army, with detachments of troops, and with straggling soldiers trudging on the

join their respective regiments.

A thaw had lately taken place, the carriages deprived them of the benefit of the pavement, and they were obliged to wade through mud half way up their legs. Yet still their native gaiety supported them, and on they went, singing ça ira, and other patriotic tunes. We took up behind us two of those that feemed the most tired. It is only giving a florin or two more to the coachman, faid my companion, and fleeping in the fuburbs instead of the town. A little further on, as we were going flowly up a hill, I faw a young lad walking very lame, and lofing his shoe at every moment in the mud. As he did not call upon peltilence and the devil to run away with them, and the road into the bargain, I was fure he could not be a Frenchman, although he had the national

FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE. nal uniform, on his back. We asked him if e also would get up behind, and he joyfully acepted our offer. But as the weather was cold. nd he seemed weakly, we soon after found means make room for him in our carriage. I then ked him if he had been wounded .- Dieu merci! e had only been cut down at the battle of Jepappe, and then wounded in the foot, while lying n the ground, which was the reason of his walkng fo lame. I told him he was too young to run ich hazards, and bear the fatigues of a military fe. Too young! faid he, with a proud smile, that concealed a little indignation; too young! why, am now nineteen, and near three years ago was ot through the body in the Belgic war. ided, that at the beginning of the prefent camaign he had been ill of a fever; that he had been nt to the hospital at Maubeuge; that in the time f his convalescence, he had walked out with some his comrades; that they had fallen in with a arty of French, who were engaged with the eney at Grisoelle; that he had taken up a dead an's musket to have his shot, tout comme un aue; and that a ball, from the rifle gun of a Tyrolian passeur, had hit him in the neck.

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When I enquired into the motives of his taking parms, he faid he had been on the fide of the atriots before, and had heard that they were up gain, and so he had left his home at Namur, here he had a father, a mother, and a little fister sez aimable, and he would leave them again, as on as it should please God and the blessed lirgin to cure the lameness of his foot; for a atriot should always fight for his country, and ould not mind a wound or two, or a little pain, a good cause. I am now going to Brussels, id he, to see some relations I have there.—Go here thou wilt, said I to myself, thou art a brave youth,

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youth, and not only a patriot but a philosopher, although I verily believe thou dost not know the

meaning of the word.

Gaiety was ever the Frenchman's birth-right, but never was it so strongly exhibited as since they have been animated by the spirit of patriotism. This cheerfulness is always accompanied by another characteristic of the nation; an uncommon degree of carelessness and disregard of danger. In the plains of Champaigne, the two armies were often in sight, and almost within shot of each other. At such times, there stood the Prussians menacing a charge, in regular array, with supported arms, and motionless as statues; and here were the French, dancing in rings around their fires, and broiling their meat on the points of their bayonets.

On a march, woe to the game that gets up before them; a hundred foldiers are fure to fend after it the contents of their muskets, not without danger of shooting their comrades. Even the presence of the enemy is insufficient to correct this deviation from dicipline. It once happened, as a battalion of volunteers was advancing to the attack, in the momentary expectation of receiving and returning the enemy's fire, that they trod up a solitary hare. As she ran along the line, she was saluted with an universal shout, and with a shot or two at least from every company she passed. The sugitive however escaped, it being so easy matter to kill so small an animal with a single ball.

The old animofity, and false point of honour, that used to set regiment against regiment, and man against man, and that were supposed every year to cost the state the lives of sive hundred foldiers, are so much forgot, that a duel is now a thing of very unfrequent occurrence. It was predicted, that endless diffensions and jealousies

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would embroil the regular troops with the national guards, but these sears were so ill founded, that it is impossible to conceive an army living in more univerfal harmony than that of Dumourier. At public and private tables, nothing is more common than to fee the shoulder-knot of a grenadier touching the epaulet of a Colonel; nor does this vicinage feem to surprise The one shews no haughtiness, the either party. other no fervility, and both interchange upon equal terms the falutation of Citizen or Comrade. Though a firanger may be fartled at it at first, his wonder diminishes when he finds that not a few of the common national volunteers are men of property, some of them possessing ten, twenty, and thirty thousand livres a year. Many of those I spoke with supported well the national character of politenels, but they had discarded the frivolous flippancy that was but too frequently its They assumed no credit for their coucompanion. rage, spoke of their giving up ease and comfort to encounter the danger and hardships of a military life, as only discharging a debt they owed to their country; lamented its being desolated by war and faction; and vowed to fee their enemies humbled, or to fleep in the dust. I listened to them with admiration, and, God and Mr. Burke forgive me, I thought I should have difgraced them by a comparison with the defunct chivalry of France.

Many of the officers, many even of the superior ranks, have been raised from that of a private soldier. In a ball or drawing-room, they would, no doubt, make an aukward sigure; but surely, after a long apprenticeship to war, they are as sit to lead a company or a battalion into the sire, as a giddy and beardless

by, just broke loofe from the military school.

Republican severity is by degrees removing

Republican severity is by degrees removing that soppishes in dress and manners that sprung from the example of a frivolous court. The small sword, that formerly dangled at the side of the French officers and soldiers, has resigned its place to a weighty sabre. The three-cornered hat, that sheltered them neither from rain, sun, nor blows, is very generally No. III.

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changed into a helmet. Their hair, far the most part cut short, is in the state nature gave it; and many of their whiskers grow unchecked by the razor. The whole of their dress, in short, bespeaks more attention to utility than show. Some of their new corps must however be excepted, particularly the legion of the celebrated St. George. This is a body of seven hundred men, composed of Creoles, Negroes, and Mulattoes, and is dressed and accounted in the richest and most brilliant manner.

I dined one day in company with a black captain of horse, and judged this new Othello to be worthy of his occupation. His easy and polite manners deferved, and met with the respect and attention of a great number of officers that were present. As for me, it did me good to see the general fraternity of mankind so nobly established, and convinced me, that all the worthless parts of the human race are only so, because debased by their political institutions.

Till I came to Liege, I never could give entire belief to the wonderful effects faid to have been produced by the music of the ancients. How is it possible, I used to say, that among the multitude of our instruments, and the endless variety of our compofitions, one of those moving founds, or powerful pasfages, should never yet have been hit upon? But when I came to Liege, the struggle between my faith and my reason was at an end. I thought I discovered, that those enthusiastic emotions were not excited in the Greeks by the mechanical operation of "a concord of fweet founds," but by the subject of their Jays, the circumstances they stood in, and the dispofition of their minds. In their old popular governments, glory and duty went hand in hand, and the persecution of their liberty, called forth the fanaticifm of freedom. Such is the fituation of the French, and fuch are their feelings, as I had an opportunity of observing at the dinner I have just mentioned. While we-were at table, some itinerant musicians were admirted. I need not fay that their mufic, vocal and instrumental, was far from being of an excellent kind.

It was, nevertheless, aftonishing to see the effect the Marfeilles Hymn produced upon the company. When they came to the passage aux armes, Citoyens! all the French officers joined them in concert, most untuneable indeed, but with very forcible expression. of them stood up erect in military attitude, grasping their fwords; and I faw tears trickle down faces as hard as iron. In my early youth I had felt much of the martial mania myself; but my long vacancy from warlike occupation, fince the last peace, had given time to reason to take the place of sentiment; and cold calculations of fafety and repose had damped if not extinguished all military ardour. The contagion, however, reached me; I repeated anx armes with the rest, and felt that I was again become a soldier.

This valour at table is well maintained in the field. If I had only the bare word of the French for it, I should not fail to make a large abatement for this self-praise. Credit, however, cannot be resused to the universal testimony of the natives of the country, who speak with artless wonder of what they call the rage of the new republicans. This bravery is the more meritorious, as a large proportion of their soldiers are boys. But they are boys, according to the words of our favourite dramatist, "with ladies' faces

and fierce dragon's fpleen."

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During the whole of the journey we remarked, that the apprehension of a war with England was peculiarly painful to the French. Though slushed with their late successes, and "consident against a world in arms," it was evident there was nothing they dreaded more than such an event; not merely on account of the mischief that might ensue, but because it would force them to regard as enemies the only nation in Europe they considered as their friends.

All along the road, they anxiously asked us what we thought would be the consequence of the armament in England? We frankly told them, we pre-sumed it would be war, and generally observed a mo-

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ment of filence and dejection follow the delivery of our opinion. But foon, briftling up at the afpect of new dangers, feveral of them faid—"Well! if all the world be determined to fight with us, we will fight with all the world. We can be killed but once.

The imminence of hostilities, however, diminished in no degree the respect they shewed us as Englishmen; and not only we did not meet with any thing like an insult in the whole of our tour; but, on the contrary, we experienced every where particular kindness and attention. They seemed eagerly to court our good opinion; and frequently begged us not to ascribe to a whole nation the faults of individuals, and not to charge their government with disorders its present state of vacillation rendered it incompetent to repress. If there was any disputing such high authorities as Mr. Burke, and the collective wisdom of the kings of the continent, I confess I should never have suspected, that I was travelling among a nation of savages, madmen, and assassing I should rather have wished with Shakespeare,

England and France, whose very shores look pale.

With envy of each other's happiness.

May cease their hatred——

Her bleeding sword 'twixt England and fair France-That English may as French, French Englishmen, Receive each other.

They looked upon Louis XVI. as a tyrant and a traitor, who had brought a disastrous war upon their country. Though a king, they considered him as no more than another man. And let us Britons, penitus ab orbe divisi, who have a special privilege for judging better of what passes all over the world, than all the world, pity this lamentable mistake. Let us be the more indulgent, as the superior beings expressed no particular concern. The Heavens did not shed a tear; no earthly convulsion rent the veil

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of the Temple, nor did the thunder, rolling on the left of the guilty city, reprobate the atrocity of the action.

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Nay, in proportion as our feelings are fensibly affected at the death of a king we have so few of us feen, let us make some allowance for the feelings of others. The minds of the Parisians were peculiarly irritated. Thousands of them had lost their dearest friends, and their nearest relatives, in the bloody scenes of which the deceased monarch had been the wilful, or the occasional cause; and they all saw their country invested by cruel and innumerable soes, who were come with the declared intention of reinstating him in his former despotism, and who afferted that he was the insidious accomplice of their hostile attack.

The fame deeds done in different circumstances may fland as wide afunder as the poles. The killing of a man from whom we have received no offence. or upon strong provocation, constitutes in the first case, a horrible crime; in the second, a fault that may admit of excuse. Considered in this point of view, even the fanguinary scenes of the beginning of September may allow some little extenuation. Let no man imagine, that I mean in any degree to justify what I have never yet suffered with patience a Frenchman to defend. My blood has ever been chilled by the horrid recital; nor have I a dearer wish, than to ice the instigators and preformers of these base and atrocious actions punished as they deserve. But it is not the less true, that the Parisians were driven to delpair by the Duke of Brunswick's approach to Paris, and by his infamous manifestoes. Bouille's threat of not leaving stone upon stone in the capital, was backed by the menaces of the Emigrants. Their cruel conduct on the frontiers plainly showed the inhabitants of Paris what they had to expect. When the whole trength of the city rose to repel the enemy, they feared that they should leave their aged fathers, and their defenceless children, to the mercy of a band of conspirators, of which the part that was in the prisons

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was to be fet at liberty by their accomplices with

Be this true or false, it is certain that such was their persuasion; and I have been assured by a respectable French merchant, who mixed, without par. ticipating in these horrid scenes, that all the prisoners had received a day or two before stockings, striped blue and white, to enable them to recognize each Their being in this uniform, he faid he could The nobles and attest from his own observation. the priefts had also their distinctive marks. If I could doubt the affertions of numbers who pretend to have feen these marks, I could not easily reject the testimony of a youth, too ingenuous to deceive, and too young to invent, who was present at the massacre in the Convent of Carmelite Friars. He fays, that he faw cards, taken from the breafts of the murdered priefts, on which were depicted a royal crown, and a crown of thorns, with the words Regiment de Salomon written above, and below miserere nostri. Why then should an event, enchained with fo many incidents and circumstances, be considered as the natural confequence of the revolution? Those who affect to look upon it in this light, and who would fain make it an argument for the extermination of the new principles of liberty, are not aware, that while the Saint Bartholomew in France, and the massacre of protestants in Ireland (scenes of blood far less provoked, and of much greater extent) are upon record; they are not aware, I fay, that their bold conclusion involves the condemnation of the christian religion, and the proscription of all kings.

But admitting that the page of history was never so fouly stained before, this is so far from being a reason for bringing the French under the yoke of their old despotism, that it is the strongest argument that can be found for letting them try the experiment of a new government. As the cruelty with which they are reproached has marked their conduct from the first day of the revolution, it is evident that their old government made them what they are; for who will believe,

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that there is any thing in the kindly climate or grateful foil of France to render its inhabitants ferocious, or that the taking of the Bastile instilled this sudden venom into their souls. It is indeed little to be wondered at, that a people treated like brutes, for so many centuries, should become like brutes when they broke their chain.

It may perhaps be faser, in this christian land, for the man who rejoiced that there were prisons for the libellers of a queen, to libel a whole nation, and to advise the cutting of his fellow-creatures throats, stom generation to generation, than it is for another to inculcate charity to our neighbours, by a candid statement of facts, and demonstrable truth. But as my tour induced me to relate the things I saw, and as these things led me naturally to the restections that accompany the mention of them, I defy repreach, and trust that my readers will shew some indulgence to the hasty production of an unskilful pen.

ON THE EXCELLENCY OF A FREE GO-VERNMENT,

AND ITS TENDENCY TO EXALT THE NATURE OF MAN.

By Dr. Price.

LVERY Member of a Free State, having his property secure, and knowing himself his own governor, possesses a consciousness of dignity in himself, and feels incitements to emulation and improvement, to which the miserable slaves of arbitrary power must be utter strangers. In such a state all the springs of action have room to operate, and the mind is stimulated to the noblest exertions. But to be obliged, from our birth, to look up to a creature no better than ourselves, as the master of our fortunes; and to receive receive his will as our law—What can be more hurmiliating? What elevated ideas can enter a mind in such a situation?—Agreeably to this remark, the subjects of free states have, in all ages, been most distinguished for genius and knowledge. Liberty is the soil where the arts and sciences have flourished; and the more free a state has been, the more have the powers of the human mind been drawn forth into action; and the greater number of BRAVE men has it produced. With what lustre do the ancient free states of Greece shine in the annals of the world? How different is that country now, under the Great Turk? The difference between a country inhabited by men, and by brutes, is not greater.

These are reflections which should be constantly present to every mind in this country. As moral liberty is the prime blessing of man in his private capacity, so is civil liberty in his public capacity. There is nothing that requires more to be watched than power. There is nothing that ought to be opposed with a more determined resolution than its encroachments. Sleep in a state, as Montesquieu says, is always.

followed by flavery.

The people of this kingdom were once warmed by fuch fentiments as thefe. Many a fycophant of power have they facrificed. Often have they fought and bled in the cause of Liberty. But that time The fair inheritance of liberty feems to be going. left us by our ancestors many of us are not unwilling, to refign. An unbounded venality, the inseparable companion of diffipation and extravagance, has poifoned the fprings of public virtue among us: and should any events ever arise that should render the fame opposition necessary that took place in the times of King Charles the First, and James the Second, 1 am afraid all that is valuable to us would be loft. The terror of the standing army, the danger of the public funds, and the all-corrupting influence of the treasury, would deaden all zeal, and produce general acquiescence and fervility.

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A LAMENTATION FOR THE OPPRESSED.

From the Deferted Village.

OWEET smiling Village, loveliest of the lawn, Thy fports are fled, and all thy charms withdrawn; Amidst thy bowers the tyrant's hand is seen, And defolation faddens all the green; One only mafter grafps the whole domain, And half a tillage stints thy smiling plain: No more thy glassy brook reflects the day, But choak'd with fedges, works its weedy way. Along thy glades, a folitary guest, The hollow founding bittern guards its neft; Amidst thy defart walks the lapwing flies, And tires their echoes with unvaried cries. Sunk are thy bowers, in shapeless ruin all, And the long grass o'ertops the mould'ring wall; And trembling, shrinking from the spoiler's hand Far, far away, thy children leave the land.

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay;
Princes and lords may flourish or may fade;
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroy'd, can never be supplied.

A time there was, ere England's griefs began, When every rood of ground maintain'd its man, For him light labour spread her wholesome tore, Just gave what life required, but gave no more: His best companions, innocence and health; And his best riches, ignorance of wealth.

But times are alter'd; trade's unfeeling train
Usurp the land, and disposses the swain;
Along the lawn, where scattered hamlets rose,
Unweildy wealth, and cumbrous pomp repose;
And every want to opulence allied,
And every pang that folly pays to pride.
These gentle hours that plenty bade to bloom,
Those calm desires that ask'd but little room,

Thofe

Those healthful sports that grac'd the peaceful scene, Liv'd in each look, and brighten'd all the green; These far departing seek a kinder shore, And rural mirth and manners are no more.

Yes! let the rich deride, the proud disdain, These simple blessings of the lowly train; To me more dear, congenial to my heart, One native charm, than all the gloss of art; Spontaneous joys, where nature has its play, The foul adopts, and owns their first-born sway; Lightly they frolic o'er the vacant mind, Unenvied, unmolested, unconfin'd. But the long pomp, the midnight masquerade, With all the freaks of wanton wealth array'd, In these, ere trisses half their wish obtain, The toiling pleafure fickens into pain; And, even while fashions brightest arts decoy,

The heart distrusting asks, if this be joy? Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen, who survey The rich man's joys encrease, the poor's decay, Tis yours to judge, how wide the limits stand Between a splendid and an happy land. Proud swells the tide with loads of freighted ore, And shouting folly hails them from her shore; Hoards even beyond the mifer's wish abound, And rich men flock from all the world around. Yet count our gains. This wealth is but a name That less our useful products still the same. Not fo the lofs. The man of wealth and pride, Takes up a space that many poor supplied; Space for his lake; his parks extended bounds; Space for his horses, equipage, and hounds; The robe that wraps his limbs in filken floth, Has robb'd the neighbouring fields of half their growth; His feat, where folitary foorts are feen, Indignant spurns the cottage from the green; Around the world each needful product flies, For all the luxuries the world supplies, While thus the land adorn'd for pleasure, all In barren splendor feebly waits the fall.

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As some fair semale unadorn'd and plain, ecure to please while youth confirms her reign, lights every borrowed charm that drefs supplies, Nor shares with art the triumph of her eyes; but when those charms are past, for charms are frail, When time advances and when lovers fail, he then shines forth, folicitous to bless, n all the glaring impotence of dress. Thus fares the land by luxury betrayed, n nature's simplest charmes at first arrayed, But verging to decline, its splendors rise, ts vistas strike, its palaces surprize; While scourg'd by famine from the smiling land, The mournful peafant leads his humble band; and while he finks without one arm to fave, The country blooms—a garden, and a grave. Where then, ah where, shall poverty reside, To scape the pressure of contiguous pride. f to some common's fenceless limits stray'd, He drives his flock to pick the scanty blade. hose fenceless fields the sons of whealth divide, and even the bare-worn common is denied. If to the city fped—What waits him there? To see profusion that he must not share; so see ten thousand baneful arts combin'd To pamper luxury and thin mankind; o see those joys the sons of pleasure know, xtorted from his fellow-creatures' woe. here where the courtier glitters in brocade, here the pale artist plies the fickly trade; here, while the proud their long-dawn pomps display, here the black gibbet glooms beside the way. he dome where pleasure holds her midnight reign, lere richly deck'd, admits the gorgeous train; fumultuous grandeur crowds the blazing square, he rattling chariots clash, the torches glare. ure scenes like these no troubles e'er annoy? ure these denote one universal joy? re these thy serious thoughts?—Ah, turn thine eyes Where the poor houseless shivering semale lies.

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She once perhaps in village plenty bleft,
Has wept at tales of innocence diffrest;
Her modest looks the cottage might adorn,
Sweet as the primrose peeps beneath the thorn;
Now lost to all; her friends, her virtue sled;
Near her betrayer's door she lays her head,
And pinch'd with cold, and shrinking from the shower,
With heavy heart deplores that luckless hour,
When idly first ambitious of the town,
She left her wheel and robes of country brown,

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ON THE RESPONSIBILITY OF KINGS.

From THE CANDID PHILOSOPHER.

ONCE thought that in point of morals the actions of all men, however diffinguished in rank, stood on the same sooting, and were entitled to the fame praise or censure. I thought that the morality of a monarch and of a private man, as prescribed by the fame divine authority, were exactly the fame, But I find the world thinks otherwise. The world thinks, that what is fit and just in a subject is not so in a king; that a king is not bound by those narrow rules that were only intended to bind the vulgar herd; and that a king may commit actions which, though highly criminal in a subject, are not so in Owing to these opinions, a political and practical fystem has been drawn by acute statesmen, and metaphysical lawyers; in which, among other equally judicious principles, they lay it down as a rule, that though in the case of a subject the master is answerable for the ill conduct of his fervants, yet in the case of a sovereign, he is not responsible for the errors and misconduct of his ministers: So far from it, they are accountable for his misconduct and errors, if such

e could commit, for they fay he cannot. They ay he is not a FREE AGENT, but a mere machine. and as fuch can do no wrong [therefore can do no right] he reason of this they tell us is, that the king is always ipposed to be advised by his ministers, and, thereore, to imagine he was capable of doing injustice, or was to be made responsible for his actions, would be This is paying the king o destroy his independence. out a very scorbutic compliment. To represent him as machine, and the mouth-piece of his ministers, is treatng him as an idiot, or a puppet moved by wires. And with respect to the independency they want to ascribe to he king, I insist on it they rob him of it entirely, acfording to their fystem; and render him the most abect, pitiful dependent creature imaginable, dependent on the nod, the wink, the command of his fervants. They make him a very child in leading ftrings, unfit o walk himself, but to be led blind-fold wherever his tutors shall be pleased to drag him. Whether this is he case in reality with any king now living, I preume not to fay; but it has been the case of multitudes, whom HISTORY has damned to everlasting infamy in her fair and impartial page. If in a point of this delicate nature I may dare to hazard an opinion, I would-lay, that I think a king (I mean of Utopia not of England) ought to be personally responsible for his misconduct, as much as a private man is for his: that a king ought to be responsible for his misconduct in choosing ignoant or wicked ministers: That though a king takes the advice of others, yet, as advice does not bind his conduct, he is as much accountable for it as the private malefactor would be in taking and pursuing the advice of his comrades to rob or murder.

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ROMAN PATRIOTISM FOUNDED ON INJUSTICE, AND THE RUIN OF MANKIND.

THE patriotism of ancient Rome has been much extolled by modern writers, but I think unjustly. Her patriotism was founded on the most flagrant injustice and iniquity, and therefore deserved not so much to be called patriotism, as a desire to render Rome the mistress of the universe.

For this purpose she scrupled not committing all manner of tyrannous and wicked acts against the liberties of mankind. Her feverish fondness for univerfal empire laid defolate all the known world. possessions, the habitations, the paintings, the sculptures, all the riches of the Romans, were the spoils of plundered nations. Thus they erected to themfelves an empire as unwieldy as it was unjust, on the ruins of their fellow creatures. What then are all their beautiful lectures and pompous declamations on the love of their country? What their laboured orations in praise of LIBERTY? Indisputable proofs indeed of their eloquence; but not of their humanity. If the language of benevolence were to constitute the character, we must allow it is due to these Romans; but if actions are to afertain the right, and to be confidered as the criterion of justice, we shall find it a difficult matter to make good their claim, though we were masters of eloquence equal to their own.

A DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

From the Letters of a Persian in England, to his Friend at Ispahan.

THOU askest if the English are as free as heretofore? the courtiers assure me considently that they they are; but the men who have least relation to the court, are daily alarming themselves and others with apprehension of danger to their liberty.—I have been told that the Parliament is the curb to the king's authority; and yet I am well informed, that the only way to advancement in the court is to gain a seat in Parliament.

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The House of Commons is the representative of the nation, nevertheless there are many great towns which send no deputies thither, and many hamlets, almost uninhabited, that have a right of sending two. Several members have never seen their electors, and several are elected by the Parliament, who were rejected by the people. All the electors swear not to sell their voices, yet many of the candidates are undone by the expence of buying them. This whole affair is involved in deep mistery, and inexplicable difficulties.

Thou askest if commerce be as flourishing as formerly: Some whom I have consulted upon that head say, it is now in its meridian; and there is really an appearance of its being so; for luxury is prodigiously encreased, and it is hard to imagine how it can be supported without an inexhaustible trade: But others pretend, that this very luxury is a proof of its decline; and they add, that the frauds and villanies in all the trading companies, are so many inward poisons, which if not speedily expelled, will destroy it entirely in a little time.

Thou wouldst know if property be so safely guarded as is generally believed: It is certain that the whole power of a King of England cannot force an acre of land from the weakest of his subjects; but a knavish attorney will take away his whole estate by those very laws which were designed for its security: The judges are uncorrupt, appeals are free, and notwithstanding all these advantages it is usually better for a man to lose his right than to sue for it.

These, Mirza, are the contradictions that perplexme. My judgment is bewildered in uncertainty;

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I doubt my own observations and distrust the relations of others: more time and better information may perhaps clear them up to me; till then modesty forbids me to impose my conjectures upon thee, after the manner of Christian travellers, whose prompt decisions are the effect rather of folly than penetration.

A LESSON FOR GENTLEMEN VOLUN. TEERS.

From the Letters of a Persian in England to his Friend at Ispahan.

S I was walking in the fields, near this city, the other morning, a disbanded foldier, somewhat in years, implored my charity, and to excite my compassion, bared his bosom, on which were the scars of many wounds, all received in the service of his country. I gladly relieved his wants, and being defirous to inform myfelf of every thing, fell into discourse with him on the wars in which he had served. He told me he had been present at the taking of ten or twelve strong towns, and had a share in the danger and glory of almost as many victories. How then, faid I, comes it to pass that you are laid afide? Thy strength is indeed in its decline, but not yet wasted; and I should think that experience would well supply the loss of youth. Alas! Sir, answered he, I have a good heart, and tolerable limbs, but I want three inches more of stature: I am brave and able enough, thank God, but not quite handsome enough to be a foldier.

How then didft thou ferve so long, returned I, in Flanders? Sir, said he, there were some thousands such ill-looking fellows, who did very well in the day

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of battle, but would make no figure at a review .- It appears to me very strange, replied I, that thou shouldeff be poor after fighting fo many years with fuch great fuccess. The plunder of a single town in the east is enough to enrich every foldier that helped to Plunder! Sir, faid he; we have no fuch term in the modern art of war. We fight for fixpence a day.—But when you have gained a battle do you get nothing by it?—Yes, faid he, we have the advantage to go on and befiege a town.—Ay, then, my honest lad, comes your harvest.—Then, Sir, replied he, it defends itself till we are half of us destroyed: and when it can hold out no longer, it capitulates; that is, every burgher faves his house, and every foldier carries off his baggage.—What becomes of the conquering army ?—Why the conquering army has the pleasure to besiege another town, which capitulates alfo; and at the end of the campaign it goes into quarters.—But when you enter an enemy's country don't you raise contributions? The generals do, anfwered he, but military discipline allows no part of it to the common foldiers; they have just fixpence a day as they had before.

A LESSON FOR ALL MEN.

From Locke on Government.

WHETHER we consider natural reason, which tells us, that men, being once born, have a right to their preservation, and consequently to meat and drink, and such other things as nature affords for their substitutes: Or revelation, which gives us an account of those grants God made of the world to Adam, and to Noah, and his sons; it is very clear, that God, (as King David says, Pfal. 115. 16.) HAS GIVEN THE EARTH TO THE CHILDREN OF MEN, GIVEN IT TO MANKIND IN COMMON.

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FROM SPENCE'S RIGHTS OF MAN.

A Song, to be fung at the Commencement of the Mile...
nium, when there shall be neither Lords nor Landlords,
but God and Man will be all in all.

FIRST PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1782.

Tune, " God fave the King."

HARK! how the trumpet's found *
Proclaims the land around
The Jubilee!
Tells all the poor oppress'd,
No more they shall be cess'd,
Nor landlords more molest
Their property.

Rents t' ourselves now we pay,
Dreading no quarter day,
Fraught with distress.
Welcome that day draws near,
For then our rents we share t,
Earth's rightful lords we are
Ordain'd for this.

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* See Leviticus, Chap. 25.

Though the inhabitants in every district or parish in the world have an undoubted right to divide the whole of the rents equally among them, and suffer the state and all public affairs to be supported by taxes as usual; yet from the numerous evils and restraints attending revenue laws, and the number of collectors, informers, &c. appendant on the same, it is supposed, they would rather prefer, That after the whole

How hath the oppressor ceas'd, ‡
And all the world releas'd
From misery!
The fir-trees all rejoice,
And cedars lift their voice,
Ceas'd now the Feller's noise,
Long rais'd by thee.

The fceptre now is broke,
Which with continual stroke
The nations fmote!
Hell from beneath doth rife,
To meet thy lofty eyes,
From the most pompous fize,
How brought to nought!

Since then this Jubilee
Sets all at Liberty
Let us be glad.
Behold-each man return
To his possession
No more like doves to mourn
By landlords fad!

whole amount of the rents are collected in a parish from every person, according to the sull value of the premises which they occupy, so much per pound, according to act of parliament, should be set apart for support of the state instead of all taxes; that another sum should next be deducted for support of the parish establishment, instead of tolls, tythes, rates, cesses, &c. and that after these important matters were provided for, the remainder of the money should be equally divided among all the settled inhabitants, whether poor or rich.

‡ Isaiah, Chap. 14.

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ALL MONARCHIES NATURALLY TEND TO DESPOTISM.

From CHESTERFIELD'S LETTERS.

THOUGH Monarchies may differ a good deal, Kings differ very little. Those who are absolute desire to continue so, and those who are not, endeavour to become so; hence, the same maxims and manners almost in all courts: Voluptuousness and profusion are encouraged, the one to sink the people into indolence, the other into poverty, consequently into despondency.

A MODEST PLEA FOR AN EQUAL COMMONWEALTH, AGAINST MONARCHY.

Published in the Year 1659.

HOUGH I was never possest with an evil spirit of opposition, or genius of contradicting and fnarling at what is present; but rather studied at least a passive, if not an active compliance with the present power; as knowing there was never any power, whose commission was not passed, if not under the broad feal of Heaven's approbation, yet at least by the privy-seal of God's permissive providence; which I have always taken as a fufficient warrant for paying the tribute of passive obedience, wheresoever I received the benefit of reciprocal protection: Yet I cannot but acknowledge fome governments more pure, refined, and less prone to corruption, than others; and certainly, those wherein the supreme magistrate (whether one or more) hath an interest distinct

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esp the distinct from that of the people, must be most apt to degenerate, and have greatest propensity to tyranny and oppression. Now whether monarchy, that winds up all the strings in the instrument of government to the interest of a single person; that tunes laws, religion, and all things, to an harmony and compliance with the monarch's single will, may not justly be suspected of this strain, I leave at the bar of any considerate man's judgment to be decided.

Certainly, whatever gloss or varnish the courtship or slatteries of princes or their parasites may set upon it, such a government is diametrically opposite to, and inconsistent with, the true liberty and happiness of

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I remember to have read a pretty strange passage of one of the French kings, that he was the most religious prince, and greatest tyrant that ever wore the crown of France. I was (I confess) some time fartled at the strangeness of the character; but our ate experience of one, might wear the same livery, makes me able not only to digest the wonder, but allo to give credence to this general aphorism, that whatever may be the qualifications of any prince in reference to the personal endowments of his mind, the title of good was never justly attributed to any ling, in reference to his office, except comparatively: And therefore, in my apprehension, elective kingdoms have fmall advantage of hereditary, by reason the unhappiness of such governments seems not so much to fpring from the nature of the person adminifering, as of the office and dignity, which ever lays an iron yoke of flavery and oppression on the peoples' necks: So that, confidering the vast expence of blood and treasure with which the competition of the office fand dignity is usually managed by the fearlet candidates of crowns and sceptres, an hereditary monarchy may feem eligible, as the leffer evil; especially, if by some fundamental constitution, like the Salique law of France, the absurd (though not unufual)

unufual) pretentions of women and children might cut off: For to hang the keys of the power civil and ecclefiaftic upon apron strings, and to put the sceptre into a hand fitter to were a distast, is to inven the order both of God and nature, and to fet a nation with its heels upwards. And yet I know it is the opinion of some, that women and children are fittel to make princes, as being of a more passive spirity and therefore likeliest to steer by the advice of will council: by reason they repose less stress and confidence in their own prudence than men; in author rity of which, the happy and prosperous reign of Queen Elizabeth is usually alledg'd; but whether without wrong to the more than masculine vigour of her spirit, and matchless quickness of parts, whereby the was, to a wonder, qualified for government, and reported rather to out-strip than come short of the more noble fex, I leave others to judge. But should we grant this affertion to have the countenance of reason, and that experience had also set to it its sea of confirmation; it is fo far from being of any advantage to monarchy, by warding off the blow usually given by fuch as skirmish against it, with their rea Jons sharpened with these inconveniences, that it gives the deepest wound to its reputation that could be defired, by afferting oligarchy, which by the general confent of all times and ages, hath been exploded as one of the worst of tyrannies, to be the best of monarchies.

I have met with some, that plead much for the fingle person that should be only the name, without the thing; the office, without the power; the shadow or image, without the substance; as if it were impossible for men, that are the masters and proprietors of reason, to be knit together into civil society and peace for their own common interest and safety without erecting either some gaudy thing to humour them, or some scare-crow to fright them into obedience; Nor do I know whose convenience would be

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ild bo ierein rein consulted, except the lawyers, who (if like ck-horses trained up in one road) not able to ange their accustomed pace or stile, it be prudence the nation to hazard a relapse into tyranny, and ain expose their lives and liberties to the will and t of an arbitrary power, to fet up a John of Oke, Will of Stile, with infinite expence of blood and asure, by reimposing the yoke so lately cast off, at this pack, &c. may not alter the stile and form their writs, &c. I fay wherefore the nation should so over-indulgent to a corrupt interest of men, her than to regulate and reform the forms of law. it, through the subtility of this generation, are beme rather fnares than fences of our estates and operties, falls not within the precincts of my apehension.

Should we now unbowel and trace to its original s name, for which there have of late appeared fo ny advocates, I presume it would be found of as complexion as the word Tyrant was accounted ong the Greeks; the English word king, being the abbreviate of cunning, the usual epithet (as men know) of knaves; and to speak truth, expeace hath made good, though never to great a faint h fate upon the throne, the devil and a bishop re ever stept into the office: For I am not of that d opinion, that kings are not capable in their prie capacities of like virtues and qualifications with er men; but that, notwithstanding their accomhments, how excellent, how bright, how orient ver are their personal virtues, they stand on slipy places, and their dignities, their interests, their alites, their flatterers, are snares too great for them retain their integrity, and therefore that the tat of sovereign power is too great, too precious to intrusted or deposited, in one man's hand, though angel, lest so great a temptation should endanger fall, and make him apostate to a devil.

That kings are God's scourges, and given in wrath,

we have the testimony of scripture. Nimrod was a great hunter, a mighty man, a great oppressor, and the first king or prince we read of; the first that invaded the liberty of the world, that usurped first authority, and prefumed to exercise dominion over his brethren; the first that put a period to that golden age, wherein no other than paternal government was known; but though thus nigh the morning of time, God fent his fcourge Nimrod as a just plague amongst the other nations of the earth; yet the people of God, the feed of Abraham, the children of Israel, were a long while after free, a free state, and enjoyed their native liberties till the time of Samuel, when they rebelled, and defired a king like the other nations, that they might be like the heathen whom God had cast out before them; which God construed no other than apostacy, and rejecting of him, than rebellion and high treason against his own divine majesty; and faid, They have rejected me: And then tells them what would be the iffue, fruit, and product thereof.

They should give away their liberty, and be subjected to an arbitrary power, and become the slaves and vassals of their king, who should take their sons and their daughters to make them his servants, and fend them forth to sight his battles; that is, to be the instruments of his pride and luxury, and the cham-

pions of his malice and ambition.

And then he should destroy their property, and take away their houses, and their vineyards, and give them to his servants. Thus the spirit of God gives the same description of a King as of what we call a Tyrant, a Nero, a Monster, as if they were all one, and it were essential to the nature of the office or dignity to be a beast of prey, a leviathan, an oppressor and devourer of the people; which character hath been too easy to be read in the lives of most of the best kings, whose names are not taken off the sile of memory.

Now as for those that would have a mock, a counterfeit, a limited king, a king and no king, and

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mpty title, a bare name, vox & preterea nihil, or know not what: they propose a remedy worse hen the disease; for to divide the sovereignty, is to lay a scene of blood, to sow the seed of a perpenual civil war, and intail ruin on ourselves and posterity: What is divided cannot stand; there will spring up perpetual jealousies, fears and animolities, which will cause intrenchings on each others authority, until the one have supplanted and over-unned the other, this is to institute a civil war, anarchy and consusion, instead of a well ordered commonwealth or politie.

Having thus unmasked the true nature of monarchy, which is no other than the mere gentle or civil expression of tyranny, I shall endeavour to obviate some of the most plausible and strenuous arguments, by whose strength and subtilty it is endeavoured to be obtruded, and our assents

conciliated to the reception thereof.

One of the grand arguments whereby the betrayers of our liberty endeavour to decoy us into the iron yoke, we have so lately shaked off, is taken from our long use and custom to draw therein, which hath rendered flavery a fecond nature to us, and therefore endeavour to scare us from our liberty as a novel and dangerous thing; as if fervitude were more natural to a nation than freedom, or any custom could utterly expunge nature: I am fure the former cannot reflect with the greater dilgrace, or more derogate from the honour of our nation, that we should be of so coarse a metal, so bale an alloy, of fo spaniel-like couchant, flavish and degenerate a spirit, than the other doth deviate from truth; but the worthy advocates of this caule, measure truth by the wicked standard of their base and corrupt designs, as they take altitude of all other mens spirits, though never so No. V.

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own pitiful crouching, fawning humour.

It would waste more ink and paper than I am either willing, or have leisure to bestow, should I shew how much the state of our nation is altered, and into how great an unsuitableness we are of late travelled unto that government, this argu-

ment would plead precription for.

But of what weight or truth it is of, will easily appear to any that have taken notice of that palfage of our modern history of the last century, which concerns the gallant hero Sir Philip Sidney; who though born in that most unlucky juncture of time for producing brave spirits, when the nation truckled under the government of a wo. man, was yet thought worthy of the Polish crown, and had an overture in order to his election thereto, had not his jealous mistress prevented; if, then, one born under the influences of a female government, and not of the highest rank of nobility, was thought fit to fway a fcepter, of how great blasphemy against the honour of our nation, may they be thought guilty, who fay, the free-born people of England, after they have broke the more ancient Norman yoke, and the more modern of a latter, &c. are not fit to enjoy that liberty, that hath been the price of fo much blood and treafure: But should we concede all the argument feems to beg, that our necks are used to the yoke, and we are become familiar to fervitude; shall we therefore willingly fuffer our ears to be bored to the posts of our new masters, and become slaves for ever? Shall we court our bonds, and glory in that which is our shame? Shall we never learn to be free, and value liberty? Shall we never emancipate ourselves and posterity, but intail thraldom and flavery on them allo, to all generations? For io Jell |

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to silence this argument, we may consider how the scene is changed, and balance of lands altered since these last centuries; and by reason thereof, with how great difficulty monarchy hath made good its ground since Henry the eighth's days, in which it first began most visibly to decline, and

hath ever fince been posting to its period.

For that wilful prince, by alienating the church revenues, quite altered the balance of lands that was the basis of his government, and thereby did that fervice unawares, that pulled up the stake of monarchy: for the church (which with all its preferments, was at the king's devotion and fole difpose) did at that time possess a third part of the lands and wealth of the whole nation: which being afterwards fold, and coming into the hands of private men, fet up many thousands of families that had no dependence on the crown. Since which time, the number of freeholders being much encreased, the nation hath had a natural and strong vergency towards a commonwealth; which hath been much discovered in the spirit and complexion of our parliaments, of which the house of commons (heretofore an inconfiderable truckling kind of court, that was only summoned for the Prince to milk their purses, and let the people blood in the filver vein) grew now more peremptory, and began to give check to their princes exorbitances; infomuch, that Queen Elizabeth was put to her courtship to retain them in allegiance; as afterwards King James, to a thousand shifts and juggles: who, notwithstanding all his King-craft and cunning, in which he fo much gloried, and boasted himself so great a master, was scarce able, with much juggling and diffimulation, to divert the florm from falling on his own head, which afterward rained fo much blood and vengeance on his fon and

and posterity, to the utter ruin and confusion of

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To conclude therefore this particular, it being a maxim of truth, placed beyond all hazard of contradiction, that no government can be fixed in this nation, but according to the balance of land. That Prince that is not able, neither by his own nor the public revenue, in some measure to counterposse, if not over balance the greater part of the people, must necessarily be tenant at will for the crown he wears: for they that are the proprietors of the land and wealth of any nation, will with eafe be able, by that magnetifm, to draw the greatest number of abettors to their fide, and fo to gild over their pretentions, as to render them current with the people, and so in the end, give law to the rest of their brethren: Therefore, where there is one proprietor or landlord, as in Turkey, there is abfolute monarchy; where a few, aristocracy, &c.

Now, fince the crown lands, and church lands of this nation are fold, what other prop or pillar of fecurity is left for the throne of a prince to rest upon, except that of a mercenary army, lies not within view of my apprehensions; and then how wholesome or safe advice the re-establishing of monarchy is to this nation, I leave all men (that have not altogether abjured their reason and conscience) to

judge and determine.

As for those poetical, if not prophane flourishes, wherewith orators and poets, the constant parasites of princes, use to gild over monarchy, pretending it the most natural and rational of all other forms of government, and that whose pattern was first shown in the mount, or rather let down from heaven, paralelling it with God's regimen of the universe, which is alledged as its prototype or first exemplar; and therefore to have something more of

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These, I say, are such trite, bald, and slight reafonings, that they do not merit fo much respect as to receive an answer; for may we not as well by this loofe and allusive way of arguing, borrow a pattern from heaven for the triumvirate, that Augultus, Lepidus, and Marc. Antony fometime imposed on Rome. Doth it not as well quadrate with the facred Trinity, by the triple scepter of whose divine providence the empire of the world is administered, as by their's sometime that of the Romans? Will any one therefore be so bold as to say, that it was the most natural and rational government, and founded by no less than a divine right, according to its pattern and archetype in the heavens! notwithstanding the brand of the blackest and bloodiest tyranny Rome ever faw hath been set thereon, by the universal consent of all historians.

Or may we not, considering the pride, ambition, rapine, extortion, injury and oppression, that usually crowd into the courts of the best princes, with as much or more reason parallel absolute monarchy, with that of the prince of darkness, in which there is no Trinity, as in the other; and therefore more exactly quadrate to the absoluteness our proud monarchs so much endeavour to obtain?

I confess, could we have a prince to whom majesty might be attributed, without prophane hyperboles, that was a true vicar or lieutenant of God, that was not subject to the passions and infirmities, much less the vices and monstrosities of human nature, that could neither be imposed on by deceit, nor abused by slattery, whom the passions neither of fear nor affection, could warp to the least declivity, from what is right and honest; whose reason could never be biassed by any private interest or base

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base respect, to decline the paths of justice and equity, but would manage the reins of his power with a like constancy and steadiness, as by the hand of Providence the helm of the universe is steered: I should then become an advocate of monarchy, and acknowledge it to have the impress of divinity, and bear the character and inscription of God upon it, to be the best and most absolute form of government, and a true copy of its divine original: but till fecurity be given for fuch a righteous administration, I desire to be excused from being a pander to ambition, or the advocate of tyranny, as having learnt, It is not good for man to be alone, especially on the high and slippery places, where the strongest heads are apt to wax giddy; but, in the multitude of counfeltors there is safety: and methinks, the very dialect of princes in the plural number (whatever of state or majesty may be pretended) is a witness of, and doth clearly speak the unnaturalness of such exorbitant monopolies of power, and that though they act in a fingle capacity, are willing to speak like a Commonwealth.

Most of the other arguments, of which the advocates of tyranny make use, are drawn from the pretended advantages of that government, above and beyond others in respect of secrecy, celerity, unanimity, and the like, which though conveniencies, yet being far too light to counterpoise and balance the other in commodities, together with the great charge and excise they are rated at, require no other answer, nor shall I waste more time and ink upon them.

Having thus passed the pikes of the sharpest arguments, that are usually raised in defence of the odd thing called a single person, I shall only speak a word or two to that is sounded on the

fingle

fingle command, that in times of war and eminent danger, when the gates of Janus's temple are fet open, is committed to one man, it being a received maxim, that reason hath always conceded an advantage to the absolute jurisdiction of a single person in the field, prescribing to that end but one general to an army, for fear of divisions

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upon contrary counfels and commands.

To which may be replied, notwithstanding generals are not taken upon trust, as kings in successive monarchies, but upon the test of experience, and proved sufficiency manifested in former services; yet if it seem expedient to the common wealth, there may be a rotation in that office as well as others, as was anciently in the Roman republic, whose armies were led forth by their annual successive consuls, and that with great successive

and victory.

But the expedient our present parliament hath found out by commission, doth so fully answer this objection, that I need fay no more unto it; for without doubt, it is the interest of a freestate to have all the people so trained up in military discipline, and made familiar with arms, that he may not be thought arrived at the just accomplishments of a gentleman, that is not able to lead an army in the field, it being among the Romans no abfurd apostrophe to leave the plough-tail, to head an army, or, vice ver/a, when their military employments were accomplished: how much then may they be thought to fall short of the accomplishment of a gentleman, that know not how to manage the conduct of a troop of horse, as I fear, too many of our gentry, upon a due fcrutiny would be found; who, notwithstanding all their great pretences to be accounted armigeri, or esquires, are scarce stout enough to discharge discharge a pistol, or were ever militant beyond

the borders of their ladies carpets.

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I shall now found a retreat to the further progress of my pen on this theme, lest I should seem too much to triumph over a baffled and proffrate enemy, it being my defire to use victory with like moderation, I defire to bear a foil, conquest or captivity: therefore, fince by the good providence of God, together with the gallant conduct of the no less prudent than valiant affertors of our native rights and liberties, we are re-instated in the possession of our birth-rights, I shall attempt the discovery of those rocks and shelves, on which in the late night of apoltacy we fplit our liberties, and endangered the utter ruin and shipwreck of our lives and fortunes, in the dangerous fea of an exorbitant and unlimited power; and thereby strike some sparks of light for the future better steering of the commonwealth, in whose bottom, as all our lives and felicities are adventured, we are all concerned to endeavour its being brought into a fafe port and harbour.

The work then of our present pilots, that sit at the stern, and manage the conduct of our affairs, is, to endeavour the commonwealth may be so equally balanced, as it may neither have propensity to a second relapse into monarchy, as of late; or oligarchy, which is worse; nor yet into anarchy, the worst of all three: But to settle a free-state upon such just and righteous soundations as cannot be moved, that may be a strong rampire of defence, not only to our civil liberties, as men, from the suture encroachment of tyranny, or inundation of exorbitant power; but also of security to our spiritual liberties, as Christians, from the invasion of those that desire to domineer

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domineer and lord it over the consciences of their brethren: both which seem so linked and twisted to each other, that what conduces to the security of one, hath no small tendency to the establishing of the other also, and do commonly so inseparably accompany each other, that wheresoever there is a free-state, or equal commonwealth, liberty of conscience is inviolably preserved, together with convenient and inossensive latitude in toleration of religions, as in Holland, Venice, &c.

Now, for the better fecuring of these, we are to take notice of what persons or things are most inconsistent with, and have greatest enmity to, the interest of a free-state or equal common-

wealth.

For discovery of which, as I know it a crime of prefumption unpardonable, for one feated in the vale of a private condition, to pretend a fairer prospect into the interest of state, than those Providence hath placed in the watch-towers, and on the pinnacles of power: yet by reason a by-stander may be allowed to difcern fomething of the game; and he that is out of play, to shew the ground to a bowler; and one that stands below may better know what props the foundation rests upon, than he that is on the top of the tower: and it being the duty of every one to cast in his mite to the vafter treasures of their know. ledge, to whom Providence hath committed the conduct of our affairs, I am bold, being partly thereto encouraged by that great candour wherewith I observe the like tribute of zealous and faithful hearts are already received, to tender what in my apprehension may have a tendency to a future fettlement and fecurity. I confess, were we at this time bowed down under the government of a monarch, in whose court every counfellor eir

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ellor of state is to be taken on an implicit faith to mjoy by his prince's patent and favour, a monopoly of reason as well as honour; and that his inderstanding is no less elevated than according to the proportion his titles and fortunes swell above the tide of other mens: I might justly be accounted absurd to offer any thing of this nature, as knowing with what scorn and contempt so rash an adventure would be encountered.

But in a free state, where the greatest senators re not ashamed to confer with the meanest perlons, I am not 'afraid to put myself into the rowd of those that make addresses of this naure: wherefore, to conclude this parenthefis. and resume the thread of our discourse, there are not, as I presume, past two or three forts of perons, whose interests run counter to, or indeed ere not twifted and wound up in the fame botom with that of a free state, or at least in the pinning out of a few years, might not be interwove therewith; and those are the Lawyer, the Divine, and Hereditary Nobility; as for the Cavalier and Courtier, I question not but a little me would breathe out their antipathy, and warp their affections to a perfect compliance, and cloiing with an equal commonwealth.

Every Man is born with an imprescriptible Claim to a Portion of the Elements.

From Barlow's Advice to the privileged Orders.

IT is a truth, I believe, not to be called in queftion, that every man is born with an imprecriptible claim to a portion of the elements, which which portion is termed his birth-right. Society may vary this right, as to its form, but never can destroy it in substance. She has no controul over the man till he is born; and the right being born with him, and being necellary to his existence, fhe can no more annihilate the one than the other, though the has the power of new-model. But on coming into the world, he ling both. finds that the ground which nature had promifed him is taken up, and in the occupancy of others; fociety has changed the form of his birth-right; the general stock of elements, from which the lives of men are to be supported, has undergone a new modification; and his portion among the rest. He is told, that he cannot claim it in its present form, as an independent inheritance; that he must draw on the stock of society, instead of the flock of nature; that he is banished from the mother and must cleave to the nurse. In this unexpected occurrence he is unprepared to act; but knowledge is a part of the flock of fociety: and an indispensible part to be allotted in the portion of the claimant, is instruction relative to the new arrangement of natural right. To withhold this instruction, therefore, would be not merely the omission of a duty, but the commission of a crime; and fociety in this case would fin against the man, before the man could fin against fociety.

I should hope to meet the assent of all unprejudiced readers, in carrying this idea still further. In cases where a person is born of poor parents, or finds himself brought into the community of men, without the means of subsistance, society is bound in duty to surnish him with the means. She ought not only to instruct him in the artificial laws by which property is secured, but in the artificial industry by which it is obtained. She is bound in

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uffice as well as policy, to give him some art or rade. For the reason of his incapacity is, that he has usurped his birth-right; and this restoring t to him in another form, more convenient to both parties. The failure of fociety in this branch of her duty, is the occasion of much the greater part of the evils that call for criminal jurisprudence. The individual feels that he is robbed of his natural right; he cannot bring his process to reclaim it from the great community by which he is overpowered; he therefore feels authorized in reprifal; in taking another's goods to replace his own. And it must be confessed, that in numberless instances the conduct of society justifies him in this proceeding, she has seized his property and commenced the war against him.

Some, who perceive these truths, say that it is unsafe for society to publish them; but I say it is unsafe not to publish them. For the party from which the mischief is expected to arise, has the knowledge of them already, and has acted upon them in all ages. It is the wise who are ignorant of these things, and not the soolish. They are truths of nature; and in them the teachers of mankind are the only party that remains to be taught: It is a subject on which the logic of indigence is much clearer than that of opulence. The latter reasons from contrivance, the former from feeling; and God has not endowed us with salse feelings, in things that so weightily concern our happiness.

None can deny that the obligation is much stronger on me to support my life, than to support the claim that my neighbour has to his property. Nature commands the first, society the second:—In one I obey the laws of God, which are univer-

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fal and eternal; in the other the laws of man,

which are local and temporary.

It has been the folly of old governments to be. gin every thing at the wrong end, and to erect their institutions on an inversion of principle. This is more fadly the case in their systems of jurif. prudence, than is commonly imagined. Compel. ling justice is always mistaken for rendering just tice. But this important branch of administration confifts not merely in compelling men to be just to each other, and individuals to fociety, -this is not the whole, nor is it the principal part, nor even the beginning, of the operation. The fource of power is faid to be the fource of justice; but it does not answer this description, as long as it contents itself with compulsion. Justice must be. gin by flowing from its fource; and the first, as well as the most important object is, to open its channels from fociety to all the individual members. This part of the administration being well devised and diligently executed, the other parts would lessen away by degrees to matters of inferior confideration.

It is an undoubted truth, that our duty is infeparably connected with our happiness; and why should we despair of convincing every member of fociety of a truth fo important for him to know? Should any person object, by saying, that nothing like this has ever been tried. Society has hitherto been curst with governments whose ex-istence depended on the extinction of truth. Eve-ry moral light has been smothered under the ive to been curst with governments whose exbushel of perpetual imposition; from whence it placemits but faint and glimmering rays, always insufficient to form any luminous system on any plan of the civil concerns of men. But these covers there are crumbling to the dust, with the governments imp

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The glorious Prospect of better Times, which are falt approaching.

FROM THE CRITIC PHILOSOPHER.

Luke 1, 51. He hath shewed strength with his arm: he hath SCATTERED the proud in the imagination of their hearts. He hath PUT DOWN the mighty from their feats, and EX-ALTED them of LOW degree. He hath FIL-LED the HUNGRY with good things, and the RICH he hath fent EMPTY AWAY.

THE Gothic pride of absurd prejudices, cemented by the ignorance and weakness of our forefathers, must fall to the ground; and on ts ruins must be raised the immortal temple of reason, of liberty, of justice! At the fight of this dorious fabric, despotisin will shudder, tyranny hall be struck dumb; irritated pride must murer of mur; unmasked avidity shall be confounded; and ow? philosophy, smiling at her great work, will secrething yapplaud herself for the trophy thus erected to there her honour. The RIGHTS OF MAN, engraved exby nature upon his heart, in indelible characters,

Eveeftored to their original perfection: that primithe ive equality on which all were formed, must take
ce it blace of artificial inequality effected by felf-created
s inbillity, be placed on a proper footing, and
any change its nature, objects and pretensions; the
overs clergy must be reformed and brought back to that
ments imple, evangelical modesty, that most beautiful
original. ornament

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The rich must be convinced, that while they live sumptuously, and while the POOR are sed with a sew of the scanty crumbs which fall from their table, they act quite contrary to the tenor of that gospel, which they say they believe. It is not in nature or reason, that one man should destroy twenty thousand a year, and another should be left without the common necessaries of life:—No, every creature which nature has formed with a mouth and digestive powers, has an equal right to participate of her blessings.

To conclude, we trust that the glorious fabric of freedom, reared up, as it were, by the hand of Omnipotence, will soon appear. A fabric that will stand firm and unshaken, as being fenced round with barriers, which will mock the dark designs of treachery, and bid designed to the impotent efforts of despotism and corruption.

Mr. Burke's tyrannical fyshem of politics, and confined ideas of liberty, published in his late pamphlet, must fall to the ground; and every scheme, or plan, made use of to oppress the human race, must be destroyed. Wealth and property must be wrested from the hands of rapacity and indolence, and divided amongst mankind at large, in proportion as they merit it. Then will those of useful invigorated industry, shine as useful members of the community. Tis true, nations like individuals, seem subject to infatuation, and while they are under its influence, they submit to treatment which would shock them, if

they were in their proper senses. Men can affign no other reason for bearing oppression, than that they bore it before. The world is grown old in error, I grant, but it should not on that account preclude reform. Notwithstanding its great age, fociety is hardly yet got beyond its first elements! Legislators have hitherto only drawn lines, or boundaries to confine mankind; instead of tracing plans to make them happy. In all their general institutions, they seem to have been ignorant that man is a being formed for love and friendship: they have rather confidered him as in a flate of perpetual warfare with his fellow-creatures.-Hence it is, that the fystems of all governments. and the spirit of their laws, have been directed rather to separate than to unite the different members of fociety; by granting peculiar privileges to fome; by restraining others; by rendering the multitude passive, and giving activity and power only to a few; by occasioning superabundance in palaces, and famine in the pealant's cot; by counteracting, in short, the designs of God and nature, in the impartial diffusion of their bleffings.

Laws, founded upon such unnatural principles, have kept the whole machine of society in a state of perpetual discord and distraction. They have hindered the rich from becoming humane, by giving a fanction to their insolent luxuries. They have robbed the poor of every right, even of permission to utter their complaints: they have chained down genius; clipped the wings of thought; and chilled, with freezing pressure, the warm sallies of sensibility:—By treating man as a ferocious animal, those laws have made him so in reality. They made him jealous of his sellow-creatures: they erected a wall of prejudice and division between one people and another: their

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voice, like that of demons, crying out to the inhabitants of every country; be guarded against strangers and foreigners, and look upon them as your natural enemies.—By these means, a sort of constant hostility has been kept up in the universe, man being at war with man, nation with nation, and empire with empire!

We have a book, which we call our guide to eternal happiness; it teacheth us, that all the human race descended from one man, and that we are all brethren; yet we are, by our own laws, daily enacting a specific distinction, and giving one part of us a statute authority to commit rapine and plunder the other. We believe that a divine prophet came down, exerted himself, and died for the redemption of all nations from misery and punishment; and while we sacrifice to him for this unparalled love, we overwhelm one another with the very evils, which he, by his examples and sufferings, taught us to avoid!

FROM THE CANDID PHILOSOPHER.

THE ADVANTAGES OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH

EVERY one will allow that freedom of thought ought not, and cannot be restrained, however freedom of speech may be so. The judge observed very justly to a satirical author, that the law forbade him to call him rogue. "I know it, my lord," replied as justly the arch wag; "but the law does not forbid my thinking your "lordship one."

Since, then, freedom of thought cannot be taken from

FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE.

from a man, and is confessedly useful, let us

briefly confider the advantages of freedom of speech.

And here a most excellent author occurs to me, and I shall give his sentiments on the subject, as nearly as I can remember, they being perfectly

agreeable to my own:

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The pattions are not to be extinguished but with life: To forbid, therefore, people to speak, is to forbid them to feel.—The more men express of their hate and resentment, perhaps the less they retain; and sometimes they vent the whole that way; but these passions, where they are smothered. will be apt to fester, to grow venomous, and to discharge themselves by a more dangerous organ than the mouth; even by an armed and vindictive hand. Less dangerous is a railing mouth than an heart filled with bitterness and curses: and more terrible to a prince ought to be the fecret execrations of his people than their open revilings, or than even the affaults of his enemies. In truth, where no liberty is allowed to speak of governors, besides that of praising them, their praises will be little regarded. Their tenderness and aversion to have their conduct examined will be apt to prompt people to think their conduct guilty or weak; to suspect their management and defigns to be worse than perhaps they are; and to become turbulent and feditious, rather than be forced to be filent.

The MARSEILLES MARCH.

YE fons of France! awake to glory,
Hark! hark! what myriads bid you rife!
Your children, wives, and grandfires hoary,
Behold their tears and hear their cries.

Shall

Shall hateful tyrants, mischief breeding, With hireling hosts a ruffian band, Affright and desolate the land, While peace and liberty lie bleeding!

To arms, to arms, ye brave,
Th' avenging fword unsheath;
March on, march on, all hearts resolv'd
On victory or death.

Now, now the dang'rous storm is rolling,
Which treach'rous kings, confed'rate, raise:
The dogs of war, let loose, are howling,
And lo! our fields and cities blaze.
And shall we basely view the ruin,
While lawless force, with guilty stride,
Spread desolation far and wide,
With crimes and blood his hands embruing?

To arms, to arms, ye brave, &c.

With luxury and pride furrounded,
The vile infatiate despots dare,
Their thirst of power and gold unbounded,
To mete and vend the light and air.

Like beasts of burthen would they load us; Like Gods would bid their slaves adore; But man is man, and who is more? Then shall they longer lash and goad us?

To arms, to arms, ye brave, &c.

O Liberty! can man refign thee,
Once having felt thy gen'rous flame!
Can dungeons, bolts and bars confine thee,
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
Too long the world has wept bewailing,
That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield:
But freedom is our sword and shield,

To arms, to arms, ye brave, &c.

And all their arts are unavailing.

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Translation of an Extract from a late Publication, intituled, Les Ruines, by M. De Volney, Member of the late Constitutive National Assembly of France, and author of "Travels in Syria and Egypt."

[This book is supposed to be written on the Ruins of Palmyra, where a Spectre, or Genius, appears to the Author, and after taking him up into the Heavens, shews him below, our Hemisphere: accounts for past, and foretels many suture Revolutions; after which the work thus proceeds:]

SCARCE had the genius finished these words, before an immense noise was heard towards the west, when that way directing my attention, I perceived within the extremity of the Mediterranean, within the domains of one of the nations of Europe, a prodigious movement, such as when, in the bosom of a vast city, a violent sedition breaking out in all its parts, one sees an innumerable people agitated and rushing like torrents into the streets and public places. And my ears, struck with shouts which rent the skies, distinguished at intervals these phrases.

"What is then this prodigy? What is this cruel and mysterious scourge? We are a numerous nation, yet we want hands! We have an excellent soil, and we want necessaries! We are active, laborious, and we live in indigence! We pay enormous taxes, and yet we are told they are not sufficient! We are at peace abroad, and neither our persons nor our property are in safety at

home

home! What is then the concealed enemy which devours us?

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And certain voices, issuing from the bosom the multitude, answered, " Erect a distinct stand ard, around which let all those assemble who, b useful labours, support and nourish society; and you will then discover the enemy which confume

And the standard being raised, the nation wa all at once divided into two bodies, unequal, and an aspect in all respects different from each other the one innumerable and comparatively almost over total, presented in the general poverty of their expansion appared, and in the meagre tanned air of their lass countenance, appearances of misery and labour the small group, an inconsiderable fraction, presented in all the splendour of clothes, bedaubed with gold and silver, and in the plumpness of their two faces, symptoms of leisure and abundance. And ideconsidering these men more attentively, I perceived that the great body was composed of labourers of artizans, of shopkeepers, of all the profession of artizans, of shopkeepers, of all the profession useful to society; and that in the small group there is mobles, great officers of armies; in a word, no thing but the civil, military, and religious agent of government. an aspect in all respects different from each other of government.

After these two bodies had, in the presence of election of the each other, face to face, considered one another with association and rage the fpring up on the one hand, and a kind of fear and dismay on the other; when the great body said to en

the small one-

"Why have you separated from us? Are you not then of our number?

" No," answered the small group, "ye are but the people, we are a different kind of beings; we are

FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE. e of a distinguished class, who have our laws. ir customs, our rights peculiar to ourselves."

People. And what business do you follow in

and or fociety?

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Distinguished Class. None; -we are not made work.

People. How then have you acquired your ches?

Distinguished Class. By taking the trouble to

vern you.

People. Really! Let us fee what it is you call moi overnment? We toil and sweat, and you enjoy; their e produce, and you dissipate:—Distinguished their lass, who are not the people, form a separate

there lais, who are not the people, form a leparate four ation, if you please, and take the trouble to gope myourselves.

Whereupon the small group, deliberating on the their ew case, a sew of the most enlightened of them And id—" Let us join ourselves again to the people, ceived share with them their burdens and their occupations, for they are men as well as ourselves;" but since erest said, "No, it would be a shame, it would there infamous to consound ourselves with the vulciers or; they are made to serve us; we are men of a specific and the Civil Governors said, "This people is

gent And the Civil Governors said, "This people is ild, and naturally servile, let us speak to them of

ce of e king and of the law, and they will presently other enter into their duty. People! The king wills the sovereign ordains it."

People. The king can only will the good of e people; the sovereign can only ordain accoring to the law.

you Guil Governors. The law enacts that ye be

bmissive.

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are

the but People. The law is the general will, and we wall a new order.

Civil

Civil Governors. You will be a rebellious people. People. Nations cannot revolt; tyrants are the only rebels.

Civil Governors. The king is with us, and h

commands you to fubmit.

People. The kingly office originates in the people who elect one of themselves to execute for the general good; kings, therefore, are essentially indivisible from their nations. The king of our's then cannot be with you; you only possel his phantom.

And the Military Governors stepping forwar said, "The people are timid, let us menace them they only obey force. Soldiers, chastise this info

lent rabble!

People. Soldiers! you are of our own blood Will you strike your brothers? If the peop perish, who will maintain the army?

And the foldiers, grounding their arms, faid their chiefs, we also are the people, we are the

enemies of-

Whereupon, the Ecclefiaftical Governors fair "There is now but one resource lest; the peop are superstitious; we must frighten them with the names of God and of religion.

Our dearly beloved brethren, our children-

God has appointed us to govern you.

People. Produce to us your heavenly powers. Priests. You must have faith: reason will lest you astray.

People. Do you govern then without reason?
Priests. God ordains peace. Religion pr

scribes obedience.

People. Peace pre-supposes justice. Obedien has a right to know the law it bows to.

Priests. Man is only born into this world

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People. Do you then fet us the example.

Priests. Will you live without Gods, and without kings?

People. We will live without tyrants, without

mpostors.

Priests. Mediators, interceders are necessary

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People. Mediators between us and God, between s and kings! Courtiers and priests, your services rost us too dear: we will henceforward treat for ourselves immediately with the principals.

And hereupon the small group faid, "We are

undone; the multitude are enlightened."

And the people answered, You are saved; for nasmuch as we are enlightened, we will not abuse our power: we wish for nothing beyond our eople rights. We have resentments, but we forget hem: We were flaves, we might command, and retort upon you your own principles: we will e the only be free: we are fo!

This dialogue between the people, and the dle classes, is the analysis of all society. All the rices, all the political diforders, are deducible from this fource; Men who do nothing, and who levour the substance of others; men who arrogate o themselves particular rights, exclusive privieges of riches and idleness; such men are the ource and definition of all the abuses which exist mong all nations. Compare the Mamloucks of gypt, the Nobles of Europe, the Nairs of India, he Emirs of Arabia, the Patricians of Rome, the Christian Priests, the Imans, the Bramins, the Bonzes, the Lamas, &c. you will always find the ame refults, " Idle men living at the expence of those who work."

OF THE MINISTRY OR CLERGY.

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BY THE AUTHOR OF A PLEA FOR A COM. MONWEALTH.

T being the method of Heaven, for judgment to begin at the house of God, I shall first speak to the reformation of the public ministry, or national clergy, fo far as they feem prompted by their interest to run counter to that of a common wealth; and though I know (notwithstanding the complexion of their coat, which feems, or at least ought to promise greater moderation) it is no less dangerous to meddle, or in the least exasperate this generation of men, than to puddle in a hor nets nest, or encounter a bear robbed of he whelps; yet my confcience bearing me witness, I have neither malice to their persons, nor envy their preferments: I shall not forbear to give in my testimony against the corrupt interest and principles wherewith they are leavened: when by the way, I must profess myself unsatisfied of what ground or foundation may (fince the Jewish loa priesthood was abolished) be found in scripture ew for that distinction between the laity and clergy which custom hath introduced into most christian commonwealths; my zeal and charity being ap to prompt me to a like wish with that of Moses That all the Lord's people were prophets; or rather to think all the Lord's people are holy, and to be accounted a royal priesthood to God. Nor can I per lac stude myself learning is so necessary a qualification counted a royal priesthood to God. Nor can I perfor teaching of the gospel, as some would make us believe, having observed our Saviour altogethe rejected the wisdom of man, and made not use of the learned scribes, or doctors of the law, but sim ple and illiterate fishermen, to be the first herald

of peace unto the world, to proclaim good will o the children of men, to be the first evangelists, and messengers of the glad tidings of salvation; and indeed the introduction of learned rabbies nto the church of Christ, and blending divinity ment with the learning of the gentiles, seems to run to the whole design of the gospel, which is by the foolishness of preaching, to confound the mission of the world. Certainly the sword of God's spirit will be able to do its work, though the master of sence, that hath been brought up in he polemicks and digladiations of human literate ature, vain philosophy, or sophistry of the hor her thools.

OM.

her Nor do I find that the apoilies, and those is, I will by Christ, to be the Catholic Bishops of the envy whole earth, and to teach all nations, did assume the into themselves any distinction of garb, colour, or the rest of Christ's slock; and I have into themselves any distinction of garb, colour, or and tabits, from the rest of Christ's slock; and I have where ead of some that were censured in the primitive ead of simes, or first centuries, for wearing large black loaks; for what is this but to bring back those ewish types and shadows, to cloud and obscure every the brightness of the Gospel's dispensation, that were long since dispelled and abrogated by the sistence of the Sun of rightcousness upon the world? for as one who hath lately well observed, What ather the canonical girdle, and formality of doctors wearing boots, but as types and allusions to those laces, of having their loins girt, and their feet laces, of having their loins girt, and their feet laces, of having their loins girt, and their feet laces, of look upon that as a writ of ease, or life of life of the warrant to quit their other particular allings, trades, and vocations; but that Paul wrought with his hands, that he might not become the purdensome

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burdensome:

burdensome; and it is generally presumed our Saviour wrought at his father's trade; not that I would not have those that minister in spiritual things, reap of other's carnal; but that it seems more according to the rule and president of the gospel, that they should be content with what voluntary contribution God shall move the people's hearts unto, than by force and rigour of law exact a maintenance.

And when I find the apostle faluting the church in Cæfar's family, I am prompted to wish, that all our houses were chapels unto the Lord, and that our families (like that of Cæsar's) contained a church within them. I am fure it is no new obfervation, that the greatest heat and zeal of religion hath been always found in conventicles and private meetings; which fuggests unto my thoughts no small ground of suspicion, that our parochial churches, bells, together with the whole order, pomp, method, and formality of our national clergy, and public worship, stands upon no other foundation than that of human invention, which by the stream of corrupt times, have been carried beyond the pattern and president of the primitive ages, and become very unlike and difforant to the exemplar Christ and his apostles left us.

Nor am I satisfied, if the generality of men are uncapable of receiving the truth and power of godliness, whether the endeavours of giving all men a tincture of religion, and forcing them into the garb and livery of an outward profession, which is the great design of, and plea for a national clergy, be more acceptable unto God than morality. I know under the law God had a peculiar people, that were picked and culled (as it were) from the dross and rubbish of the rest of mankind, that were to be built up in an outward profession.

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and national way of public worship, adorned with many ceremonies, together with much pomp, and outward splendour, but whether religion be not now under the gospel, a more inward, refined,. spiritual, and less visible thing, I humbly submit to serious consideration. And if I am herein mistaken (for I pretend not to infallibility) I should be hankful to any, God shall be pleased to made use of as instruments to better inform me; for I.

would willingly fee and know my errors.

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But if it be here objected, that the primitive imes were times of perfecution, in which the church was (as it were) under hatches, and chriftianity in its infancy, and the professors thereof forced to hide themselves in holes of the rocks, and caves of the earth: but now, having gained? ground upon the world, and being in better plight, ... and fince it is come up out of Egypt from the house of bondage, from under the pressures, perecutions, afflictions, and burdens of its heathenish ask-masters, under which it formerly groaned,. ought, according to the example of the Ifraelites. be adorned with the spoils of the heathen, &c.

I answer, that as the kingdom of God comes. mt-with observation, so it confists not in any outward pomp and splendour. Its said, the kings. laughter (or spouse of Christ) is all glorious withn; and by how much the more ground chriflanity hath gained upon the world, by fo much he less need doth it now stand of the wisdom and : earning of men to commend and propagate it, han when it was to encounter with fo great oppo-mon, and fuch potent antagonists, as under the leathen emperors it met withal. And if the truth id then under all those disadvantages not only. hake good its ground, but fo much gained upon he world, when it had few other champions than

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poor fishermen, and illiterate mechanics, how much less need it now fear brow-beating, when the power of God hath subdued so many nations to the knowledge and obedience of his truth, and hath made princes of the earth bow unto the

sceptre of his Son?

Whether the nation is yet willing to part with their calves they have so long worshipped, I know not, but I am sure it hath pleased God to give them a great discovery of the corruption, pride, ambition, and flattery of this sort of men; how willing they could be to reap their own profit, though sown in, and springing from the ruin of the nation's liberty and telicity; how willingly they could sell their brethren slaves into the hands of tyranny and oppression, to purchase to themselves dominion and lordship.

THE DESIRE OF GLORY NATURALLY GENERATED IN REPUBLICS.

FROM THE PERSIAN LETTERS.

THE fanctuary of honour, reputation, and virtue, feems to be placed in republics, and in those states where a man may with safety pronounce the word, country. At Rome, Athens, and Sparta, honour was the only reward for the most signal services. A crown of oak-leaves, or laurely a statue, an inscription, was an immense return for a battle won, or a city taken.

There, a man that had performed a noble action thought himself sufficiently recompensed in the action itself. He could not see one of his countrymen, without feeling the inward satisfaction oknowing himself his benefactor: he reckoned the number

number of his services by that of his fellow-citizens. Any man is capable of doing a piece of service to another man; but it is somewhat divine to contribute to the happiness of a whole society.

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A valuable Collection of general political Principles, or fundamental Truths in Government:

Extracted from HARRINGTON'S OCEANA, and his other works.

[Portions of this Collection will frequently be inferted in the Course of this Publication.]

An Extract from the Examination of James Harrington, when confined in the Tower, by the Earl of Lauderdale, &c.

Har. MY Lord, in the preamble, you charge me with being eminent in principles, contrary to the king's government, and the laws of this nation. Some, my Lord, have aggravated this, faying, that I, being a private man, have been so mad as to meddle with politics: what had a private man to do with government? My Lord, there is not any public person, not any magistrate. that has written in the politics worth a button. All that have been excellent in this way, have been private men, my Lord, as myself. There is PLATO, there is ARISTOTLE, there is LIVY, there is MACHIAVEL. My Lord, I can fum-up ARISTOTLE's politics in a very few words; he lays there is the barbarous monarchy, (such a one where the people have no voices in making the laws): he fays there is the heroic monarchy (fuch a one where the people have their votes in making the laws); and then he fays there is the democracy; and

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and affirms, that a man CANNOT be faid to have liberty, but in a democracy only.

My Lord Lauderdale, who thus far had been very attentive, at this shewed some impatience.

Har. I SAY ARISTOTLE fays fo; I have not aid so much. And under what prince was it? Was it not under ALEXANDER, the greatest prince then in the world? I befeech you, my Lord, did ALEXANDER hang up ARISTOTLE, did he molest him? LIVY for a commonwealth'is. one of the fullest authors; did not he write under AUGUSTUS CÆSAR? did CÆSAR hang up Li-VY. did he moleft him? MACHIAVEL, what a commonwealth's man was he? but he wrote under the Medici, when they were princes in Florence, did they hang up MACHIAVEL, or did they molest him? I have done no otherwise than as the greatest politicians, the king will do no otherwife than as the greatest princes. But, my Lord, these authors had not that to say for themselves that I have; I did not write under a prince, I wrote under a usurper, OLIVER. He having flarted up into the throne, his officers (as pretending to be for a commonwealth) kept a murmuring, at which he told them, that he knew not what they meant, nor themselves; but let any of themshew him what they meant, by a commonwealth (or that there was any fuch thing) they should see that he sought not himself, but to make good the cause. Upon this some sober men came to me, and told me, if any man in England could shew what a commonwealth was, Upon this perfuasion I wrote; it was myself. and after I had written, OLIVER never answered his officers as he had done before, therefore I wrote not against the king's government. And for the law, if the law could have punished me, OLIVER

OLIVER had done it; therefore my writing was not obnoxious to the law. After OLIVER, the Parliament faid they were a commonwealth, I faid hey were not, and proved it: infomuch that the Parliament accounted me a cavalier, and one that had no other defign in my writing, than to bring in the King; and now the King, first of any man, makes me a roundhead.

Lord. These things are out of doors; if you be no plotter, the King does not reslect upon your

vritings.

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Notwithstanding the apparent innocence of our uthor, he was still detained a close prisoner many months.

** The Extracts from HARRINGTON will not be long but frequent; that a variety of other outhors, may likewife find room.

A NEW SONG.

Sung by Mr. Meredith at Liverpool, on the Anniversary of the French Revolution.

O'ER the vine-cover'd hills and gay regions of France,

See the day-star of Liberty rife:

O'er the clouds of detraction unwearied advance,

And hold its new courfe thro' the fkies.

An effulgence fo mild, with a lustre so bright,

All Europe with wonder furveys;

And from deserts of darkness, and dungeons of night,

Contends for a share of the blaze.

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or

Let Burke, like a bat, from its splendour retire, A splendour too strong for his eyes;

Let pedants, and fools, his effusions admire, Intrapt in his cobwebs like flies.

Shall phrenzy and fophistry hope to prevail, Where reason opposes her weight;

When the welfare of millions is hung on the scale, And the balance yet trembles with fate?

Ah! who, midst the horrors of night would abid.
That can taste the pure breezes of morn,
Or who that has drunk of the chrystaline tide,
To the seculent flood would return?

When the bosom of beauty the throbbing hear

Ah, who can the transport decline?

Or who that has tasted of Liberty's sweets,

The prize but with life, would resign?

But 'tis over—high Heav'n the decision approve, Oppression has struggled in vain:

To the hell she has form'd, superstition removes, And tyranny bites his own chain.

In the records of time a new æra unfolds, All nature exults in its birth——

His creation benign, the Creator beholds, And gives a new charter to earth.

O catch its high import, ye winds as ye blow, O bear it ye waves as ye roll!

From regions that feel the fun's vertical glow, To the farthest extremes of the pole.

Equal rights—equal laws—to the nations around,
Peace and friendship its precepts impart,

And wherever the footsteps of man shall be found, May he bind the decree on his heart.

7. FREE-DOM

ontinuation of Extracts from HARRINGTON'S OCEANA, and his other works.

HAVE often thought it strange, that among all the governments, either past or present, the onarchial should so far in extent and number ceed the popular, as that they could never yet me into comparison. I could never be peraded but it was more happy for a people to be sposed of by a number of persons, jointly intefled and concerned with them, than to be numred as the herd and inheritance of one, to whose ft and madness they were absolutely subject; and at any man of the weakest reason and generosity ould not rather chuse for his habitation that spot learth, where there was access to honour by virtue, nd no worth could be excluded, rather than that here all advancement should proceed from the ill of one scarcely hearing or seeing with his wn organs, and gained for the most part by eans lewd and indirect: and all this in the end amount to nothing else but a more splendid and angerous flavery.

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He knows nothing, that knows not how superitiously, the generality of mankind is given to
tain traditions, and how pertinacious they are, in
the maintenance of their first prejudices, inmuch that a discovery or more refined reason
as insupportable to them, as the sun is to an
the newly brought out of darkness. Hence
pinionativeness (which is commonly proporoned to their ignorance) and a generous obstiacy, sometimes to death and ruin. So that it is
to wonder if we see many gentlemen, whose eduation enabled them only to use their senses and

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first thoughts, so dazzled with the splendour of court, prepoffessed with the affection of a prince or bewitched with some subdalous favour, the they chose rather any hazard than the enchange ment should be dissolved. Others, perhaps a de gree above these, yet in respect of some title stud upon the family (which has been as fortunate) mistery of king-craft as any other) or in reverence to fome glorious former atchievments (minding not that in all these cases the people are the on effective means, and the king only imaginary) thin they should degenerate from bravery in bringing on a change. Others are withheld by floth an timorousness, either not daring, or unwilling to be happy; fome looking no further than their private welfare, indifferent at the multiplication of public evils; others (and these the worst of all) out of pravity of nature facrificing to their ambition an avarice, and in order to that following any power concurring with any machinations, and supporting their authors: while princes themselves (traine up in these arts, or receiving them by tradition know how to wind all their humours to their ow advantage, now foisting the divinity of their title into pulpits, now amufing the people with pom and shows, now diverting their hot spirits to som unprofitable foreign war (making way to the accurfed ends of revenge or glory, with the effe sion of that blood which should be as dear to the as their own) now stroking the people with som feeble but enforced law, for which notwithstanding they will be paid (and it is observed the most no torious tyrants have taken this course) not giving up the eminentest of their minister (which they part with as indifferently as the robes) to the rage and fury of the people; fo the they are commanded and condemned by the fam mouth

Those are the reasons which (if. I

conceive aright) have stupissed the less knowing part of mankind.

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THE FREE NOTIONS OF THE ENGLISH.

FROM THE PERSIAN LETTERS.

A LL the nations of Europe are not under equal subjection to their princes: for inflance, the impatient humour of the English seldom gives the king leisure to extend or strengthen his authority: Submission and obedience are virtues they very little value themselves upon. They hold very extraordinary opinions about this article. According to them there is but one tie that has any effect upon men, which is that of gratitude: a husband, a wise, a father, a son, are bound to each other by nothing, but either the love they bear to each other, or mutual services and benefits: and these various motives of acknowledgement, are the origin of all kingdoms, and all societies.

But if a prince, instead of endeavouring to make his subjects happy, studies only how to oppress and destroy them, the soundation of obedience ceases; nothing ties, nothing obliges them to him, and they return to their natural liberty. They maintain that no unlimited power can be lawful, because it could never have a lawful No. VIII.

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beginning. For we cannot, fay they, give to another more power over us than we have over ourselves: Now we have not an unlimited power over ourselves: for instance, we cannot touch our own lives; no man upon earth therefore, conclude they, can have such a power.

High-treason, according to them, is nothing but a crime committed by the weaker against the stronger, by disobeying him, let him disobey him in what way he will. And accordingly the people of England, happening to prove the stronger in a contention with one of their kings, declared it to be high-treason in a prince to make war upon his stribjects. They have very good reason, therefore, to say, that the precept in their Alcoran, which enjoins obedience to the powers, is not very hard to follow, since they cannot help following it is they would; in as much as it is not to the most virtuous that they are bound to submit, but to the strongest.

The English tell you, that one of their kings having overcome and taken a prince that rebelled against him, and disputed the crown with him, and upbraiding him with his treachery and perfidiousness:—It has been decided but a moment, answered the unfortunate prince, which of us two is the traitor.

FROM SWIFT'S WORKS.

AN UNPLEASANT LESSON FOR THE PIGS' BETTERS.

I HAD the curiosity to enquire, in a particular manner, by what method great numbers had procured to themselves high titles of honour, and prodigious

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rodigious estates; and I confined my enquiry to very modern period: However, without grating opon present times, because I would be sure to give no offence, even to foreigners (for I hope the reader need not be told, that I do not in the least intend my own country, in what I fay upon this occaion) and a great number of persons were called up, and, upon a very flight examination, discovered fuch a scene of infamy, that I cannot reflect upon it without some seriousness. Perjury, oppression, subornation, fraud, pandarism, and the like infirmities, were amongst the most excuseable arts they had to maintain, and for these I gave, as it was reasonable, great allowance. But, when some confessed they owed their greatness and wealth to fodomy, or incest; others, to the profituting of their own wives and daughters; others, to the betraying of their country, or their prince; fome to poisoning, more to the perverting of justice, in order to destroy the innocent: I hope I may be pardoned, if thefe discoveries inclined me a little to abate of that profound veneration which I am naturally apt to pay to perfons of HIGH rank, who ought to be treated with the utmost respect, due to their fublime dignity, by us their inferiors.

LESSONS FOR MONOPOLIZERS OF LAND.

Leffon I.

Lev. Chap. xxv.—And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years. Then shalt thou cause the TRUMPET OF THE JUBILEE TO SOUND,

on the tenth day of the feventh month, in the day of atonement shall we MAKE THE TRUMPET SOUND THROUGHOUT ALL YOUR LAND. And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and PRO. CLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL TH UNTO ALL THE INHABITANT LAND. THEREOF: It shall be a JUBILEE unto you AND YE SHALL RETURN EVERY MAN UNTO HIS POSSESSION, and ye shall return every man unto his family. A JUBILEE shall that fiftied year be unto you: You shall not fow, nor rear that which groweth of itself in it, nor gather th grapes in it of thy vine undressed. For it is the JUBILEE; it shall be holy unto you: Ye shall eat the encrease thereof out of the field. In THI YEAR OF THE JUBILEE YE SHALL RETURN EVERY MAN UNTO HIS POSSESSION.

The land SHALL NOT be fold FOR EVER For the land is mine; for ye are strangers an fojourners with me. And IN ALL THE LAN OF YOUR POSSESSION YE SHALL GRANT REDEMPTION FOR THE LAND. If thy brothe be waxen poor, and hath fold away fome of hi possession, and if any of his kin come to redeen it, then shall he redeem that which his brothe fold. And if the man have none to redeem it and himself be able to redeem it; then let his count the years of the fale thereof, and restor the overplus unto the man to whom he fold i THAT HE MAY RETURN UNTO HIS POSSES SION. But if he be not able to restore it to him then that which is fold shall remain in the hand him that bought, until the year of JUBILEE: an IN THE JUBILEE IT SHALL GO OUT, AN HE SHALL RETURN UNTO HIS POSSESSION.

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Isaiah, v. 8.—Wo unto them that join house house, that lay field to field, till there be no lace, that they may be placed alone in the midst the earth.

ON EQUALITY.

nom Puffendorf's Whole Duty of Man, according to the Law of Nature.

MAN is a creature not only most solicitous for the preservation of himself, but has of inself so nice an estimation and value, that to liminish any thing thereof does frequently move him as great indignation as if a mischief were one to his body or estate. Nay, there seems to im to be fomewhat of dignity in the appellation f MAN: fo that the last and most efficacious rgument to curb the arrogance of infulting men, sufually—I am not a dog, but a man as well as ourself. Since then human nature is the same n us all, and fince no man will or can cheerfully oin in fociety with any, by whom he is not at east to be esteemed equal as a man, and as a paraker of the fame common nature: It follows hat, among those duties which men owe to each other, this obtains the fecond place, That every man effeem and treat another, as naturally equal himself, or as one who is a man as well as he.

Now this equality of mankind does not alone confift in this, that men of ripe age have almost the same strength, or if one be weaker, he may be able to kill the stronger, either by treachery, or

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dexterity, or by being better furnished with weapons; but in this, that though nature may have accomplished one man beyond another, with various endowments of body and mind; yet nevertheless he is obliged to an observation of the precepts of the law-natural towards the meaner person, after the same manner as he himself expects the fame from others; and has not therefore any greater liberty given him to infult upon his fellows. As, on the other fide, the niggardlines of nature or fortune cannot of themselves set any man fo low, as that he shall be in a worfe condition, as to the enjoyment of common right, than others. But what one man may rightfully demand or exped from another, the same is due to others also (circumstances being alike) from him; and whatsoever one shall deem reasonable to be done by others, the like it is most just he practise himself: For the obligation of maintaining fociality among mankind, equally binds every man; neither may one man more than another violate the law of nature, in any part. Not but that there are other popular reasons which illustrate this equality; to wit, That we are all descended of the same stock; that we are all born, nourished, and die after the same manner; and, that God has not given any of us a certain affurance, that our happy condition in this world shall not at one time or other be changed Besides, the precepts of the Christian religion tell us, that God favours not man for his nobility power, or wealth, but for fincere piety, which may as well be found in a mean and humble man as in those of high degree.

Now from this equality it follows, That he who would use the affistance of others in promoting his own advantage, ought to be as free and ready to use his power and abilities for their service, when they

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want his help and affishance on like occasions. For he who requires that other men should do him kindnesses, and expects himself to be free from doing the like, must be of opinion, that those other men are below himself and not his equals. Hence, as those persons are the best members of a community, who, without any difficulty, allow the fame things to their neighbour that themselves require of him; so those are altogether incapable of fociety, who, fetting a high rate on themselves, in regard to others, will take upon them to act any thing towards their neighbour. and expect greater deference and more respect than the rest of mankind; and in their insolent manner demanding a greater portion unto themfelves of those things, to which, all men having a common right, they can in reason claim no larger share than other men: Whence this also is an universal duty of the law-natural, That no man, who has not a peculiar right, ought to arrogate more to himself than he is ready to allow to his fellows, but that he permit other men to enjoy equal privileges with himfelt.

The same equality also shews what every man's behaviour ought to be, when his business is to distribute justice among others; to wit, that he treat them as equals, and indulge not that, unless the merits of the cause require it, to one, which he denies to another: For, if he do otherwise, he who is discountenanced is, at the same time, affronted and wronged, and loses somewhat of the dignity which nature bestowed upon him. Whence it follows, that things which are in common, are of right to be divided by equal parts among those who are equal: Where the thing will not admit of division, they who are equally concerned, are to

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use it indifferently; and, if the quantity of the thing will bear it, as much as each party shall think fit: But if this cannot be allowed, then it is to be used after a stated manner, and proportioned to the number of the claimants; because it is not possible to find out any other way of observing equality. But if it be a thing of that nature as not to be capable of being divided, nor of being possessed in common, then it must be used by turns; and if this yet will not answer the point, and it is not possible the rest should be satis. fied by an equivalent, the best way must be to determine possession by lot; for, in such cases, no fitter method can be thought on, to remove all opinion of partiality and contempt of any party, without debasing the person whom fortune does not favour.

ON THE ABSURDITY OF UNALTERABLE ESTABLISHMENTS.

FROM PRIESTLY ON GOVERNMENT.

HIGHLY as we think of the wisdom of our ancestors, we justly think ourselves, of the present age, wiser, and, if we be not blinded by the prejudice of education, must see, that we can, in many respects, improve upon the institutions they have transmitted to us. Let us not doubt, but that every generation in posterity will be as much superior to us in political, and in all kinds of knowledge, and that they will be able to improve upon the best civil institutions that we can prescribe for them. Instead then of adding to the difficulties which we ourselves find, in making the improvements

mprovements we wish to introduce, let us make his great and defirable work easier to them than

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However, fuch is the progress of knowledge, and the enlargement of the human mind, that, in future time, notwithstanding all obstructions brown in the way of human genius, men of great and exalted views will undoubtedly arife, who will fee through, and detest our narrow politics; when the ill-advisers, and ill-advised authors of hese illiberal and contracted schemes, will be remembered with infamy and execration: When, notwithstanding their talents as statesmen or writers, and though they may have purfued the fame mind-enflaving schemes by more artful and less fanguinary methods, they will be ranked among the Bonners and Gardeners of past ages; they must have been worse than Bonners and Gardeners, who could purfue the fame ends by the same means, in this more humane and more enlightened age.

England hath hitherto taken the lead, in almost every thing great and good, and her citizens stand foremost in the annals of fame, as having shaken off the fetters which hung upon the human mind, and called it forth to the exertion of its noblest powers. And her constitution has been so far from receiving any injury from the efforts of these her free born enterprizing sons, that she is in part, indebted to them for the unrivalled reputation she now enjoys, of having the best system of policy in Europe. After weathering fo many real storms, let us not quit the helm at the apprehension of imaginary dangers, but steadily hold on in what, I trust, is the most glorious course that a government can be in. Let all the friends of liberty and human nature join to free

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the minds of men from the shackles of narrow and impolitic laws. Let us be free ourselves, and leave the blessings of freedom to our posterity.

In short, it seems to have been the intention of Divine Providence, that mankind should be, at far as possible, self-taught; that we should attain to every thing excellent and useful, as the result of our own experience and observation; that our judgments should be formed by the appearances which, are prefented to them, and our hearts in firucted by their own feelings. But by the unnatural fystem of rigid, unalterable establishments, we put it out of our power to instruct ourselves, or to derive any advantage from the lights we acquire from experience and observation; and thereby, as far as in our power, we counteract the kind intentions of the Deity in the constitution of the world, and in providing for a state of constant, though flow improvement in every thing.

In spite of all the setters we can lay upon the human mind, notwithstanding all possible discouragements in the way of free enquiry, knowledge of all kinds will encrease. The wisdom of one generation will be folly in the next. And that, though we have seen this verified in the history of near two thousand years, we persist in the absoluted maxim of making a preceding generation distate to a succeding one, which is the same thing as making the soolish instruct the wise; for what is a lower degree of wisdom but compara-

tively folly?

Were any more laws restraining the liberty of the press in force, it is impossible to say how sat they might be construed to extend. Those already in being are more than are requisite, and inconsistent with the interests of truth. Were they to extend further, every author would lie at the mercy of

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ercy of the ministers of state, who might conemn, indifcriminately, upon fome pretence or ther, every work that gave them umbrage; under ich circumstances might fall some of the greatest nd noblest productions of the human mind, if ch works could be produced in those circumances. For, if men of genius knew they could ot publish the discoveries they made, they would ot give free scope to their faculties, in making nd pursuing those discoveries: It is the thought spublication, and the prospect of same, which is enerally the great incentive to men of genius to xert their faculties, in attempting the untrodden aths of speculation. In those unhappy circumances, writers would entertain a dread of every ew subject. No man could fafely indulge him-If in any thing bold, enterprifing, and out of the ulgar road; and in all publications we should see timidity incompatible with the spirit of difovery. If any towering genius should arise in hole unfavourable circumstances, a Newton in he natural world; or a Locke, a Hutchinson. Clarke, or a Harley in the moral, the only effecual method to prevent their defusing a spirit of interprize or innovation, which is natural to fuch reat fouls, could be no other than that which Tarquin fo fignificantly expressed, by taking off he heads of all those poppies which overlooked he rest. Such men could not but be dangerous, nd give umbrage in a country, where it was he maxim of the government, that every thing of importance should for ever remain unalterably ixed.

GENERAL POLITICAL APHORISMS ON MAXIMS.

FROM HARRINGTON'S WORKS.

TO leave ourselves and posterity to a farther purchase in blood and sweat of that which we may presently possess, enjoy, and hereaste bequeath to posterity in peace and glory, is inhuman and impious.

As certainly and fuddenly as a good flate of health dispels the peevishness and peril of sickness does a good state of government the animoss

and danger of parties.

The frame of a commonwealth, having bee first proposed and considered, expedients (in cal such should be found necessary for the safe essential, and perfect introduction of the same) may with some aim be applied or sitted; as to a house when the model is resolved upon, we fit scassion building. But first to resolve upon expedient and then to sit to them the frame of a common wealth, is as if one should set up props, and the build a house to lean upon them.

While the civil and religious parts of a commonwealth are in forming, there is a necessity that she should be supported by an army; but when the military and provincial parts are right ly formed, she can have no farther use of an other army. Wherefore at this point, and not till then, her armies are by the practice of commonwealths, upon slighter occasions, to have half

pay for life, and to be disbanded.

Where there is a standing army, and not formed government, there the army of necessity will have dictatorian power.

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FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE.

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Where an army subsists upon the pay or riches fa single person, or of a nobility, that army is lways monarchical. Where an army subsists not y the riches of a single person, nor of a nobility,

nat army is always popular.

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What party soever shall hinder the people from he exercise of the power devolved upon them, hall be certainly ruined: who or what party pever shall introduce the people into the due and orderly exercise of the power devolved upon hem, shall be forthwith secure and famous for yer.

The reason why the nations that have commonwealths use them so well, and cherish them so much, and yet that so sew nations have commonwealths, is, that in using a commonwealth it is not necessary it should be understood; but in making a commonwealth, that it be understood is of absolute necessity.

It shall be soon found when and where the soul of a man was in the body of a beast, as when or where the soul or freedom natural to democracy, was in any other form than that only of a senate.

and an affembly of the people.

As the foul of man can never be in the body of a beaft, unless God make a new creation; so neither the foul or freedom, natural to democracy, in any other form whatsoever than that only of a lenate, and a popular affembly.

The right constitution, coherence, and proper symmetry of a form of government, goes for the

greater part upon invention.

Reason is of two parts; invention and judgment. Judgment is most perfect in an assembly.

Invention is most perfect in one man.

In one man, judgment wants the strength which is in a multitude of counsellors.

No. IX. K In

In a multitude of counsellors, invention in none at all.

Through the defect of invention, the wifelf at femblies in the formation of government, have pitched upon a fole legislator.

It is not below the dignity of the greatest al. sembly, but according to the practice of the best commonwealths, to admit of any man that is able to propose to them for the good of his country.

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To the making of a well ordered commonwealth, there goes little more of pains or charge, or work without doors, than the establishment of an equal or apt division of the territory, and the proposing of such election to the divisions to made, as from an equal soundation may raile equal superstructures; the rest being but paper work, is as soon done as said or voted.

The highest earthly felicity that a people can ask, or God can give, is an equal and well ordered commonwealth. Such a one among the Israelita was the reign of God; and such a one (for the same reason) may be among Christians the reign of Christ, though not every one in the Christian commonwealth should be any more a Christian indeed, than every one in the Israelitish commonwealth was an Israelite indeed.

A SONG

To be Sung an Hundred Years Hence.

To the Tune of " Hearts of Oak.

COME cheer up my lads, lo! the day draweth near,

When Britain's brave fons Freedom's standard will

And joining with Frenchmen, all tyrants o'erthrow, Th' oppress'd world releasing wherever they go. Then mankind rejoice,
France and Britain agree;
Their faiths they have plighted,
Fleets and armies united,
To drive tyrants from you,
And fet the world free.

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row, go. I'hen Britain's standard bears emblems prophetic of this, Caledonia's wild horse, England's lion searless, The lilies of France in their quarter behold, and Hiberhia's sweet harp makes the union quite bold.

Then mankind, &c.

None but tyrants hereafter this flag shall e'er fright, No more shall't be spread in a cause that's not right; Shese ensigns of freedom all nations shall hail, Where'er the sea slows or a ship spreads her sail.

Then mankind, &c.

What though tyrants combine, mankind's chains to retain,

And wish them in bondage for e'er to remain; Let their people but leave them their own cause to fight,

Then we'd laugh them to fcorn and their impotent spite.

Then mankind, &c.

Let it no more be said that for ____ pence a day, A man for a tyrant his fellow shall slay;

Our birthright for porridge and crumbs we'll not

But unite for our rights, boys, and all shall be well.

Then mankind, &c.

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A LESSON FOR VENAL PARLIAMENTS

The SPEECH which was spoken by Oliver Crom well, when he dissolved the Long Parliament.

T is high time for me to put an end to you fitting in this place, which you have dishor oured by your contempt of all virtue, and defile by your practice of every vice: Ye are a faction crew, and enemies to all good government: Y are a pack of mercenary wretches, and would like Efau, fell your country for a mels of pottage and, like Judas, betray your God for a fe pieces of money: Is there a fingle virtue no remaining amongst you? Is there one vice you not posses? Ye have no more religion than m horse; gold is your god. Which of you have no bartered your conscience for bribes? Is there man amongst you that has the least care for the good of the commonwealth? Ye fordid profi tutes, have you not defiled this facred place, at turned the LORD's temple into a den of thieve by your immoral principles and wicked practice Ye are grown intolerably odious to the whole n tion. You were deputed here by the people get grievances redreffed, are not yourselves b come the greatest grievance? Your country ther fore calls upon me to cleanse this Augean stab by putting a final period to your iniquitous pr ceedings in this house, and which, by Gon's he and the strength he has given me, I am now con to do: I command ye, therefore, upon the peril your lives, to depart immediately out of this place Go, get you out, make haste, ye venal slaves, gone! So take away that shining bauble there, a lock up the doors. LESSON

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LESSONS FOR STATESMEN.

Lesson I.

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FROM COMMERCE, IN THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA
BRITANNICA.

THE augmentation of riches, in a country, either not capable of improvement as to the foil, or where precautions have not been taken for facilitating a multiplication of inhabitants, by the importation of sublishence, will be productive of the most calamitous circumstances.

On one fide, this wealth will effectually diminish the mass of tood before produced; and on the other, will encrease the number of useless confumers.—The first of these circumstances will make the demand for food; and the second will diminish the number of useful free hands, and consequently raise the price of manufactures: here

are shortly the outlines of this progress.

The more rich and luxurious a people are, the more delicate they become in their manner of living, if they fed on bread formerly, they will now feed on meat; if they fed on meat, they will now feed on fowl. The same ground which feeds an hundred with bread, and a proportionable quantity of animal food, will not maintain an equal number of delicate livers. Food must then become more scarce; demand for it rises; the nich are always the strongest in the market; they consume the food, and the poor are forced to slave. Here the wide door to modern distress opens; to wit, a hurtful competition for subsistence. Farther, when a people become rich, they think less of acconomy; a number of useless ferwants are hired, to become an additional dead

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weight on confumption; and when their flarving countrymen cannot supply the extravagance of the rich fo cheaply as other nations, they either import instruments of foreign luxury, or feek to enjoy them out of their own country.

Lesson II.

FROM THE SAME.

SET of industrious and frugal people were affembled in a country [Holland] by nature Subject to many inconveniencies, the removing of which necessarily employed abundance of hands, Their fituation upon the continent, the power of their former mafters, and the ambition of their neighbours, obliged them to keep great bodies of troops. These two articles, added to the numbers of the community, without either enriching the flate by their labour exported, or producing food for themselves or countrymen.

The scheme of a commonwealth was calculated to draw together the industrious; but it has been still more useful in subfishing them: the republic can form of government being there greatly lub divided, vests authority sufficient in every part of it, to make fuitable provision for their own subfistence; and the tie which unites them, regard only matters of public concern. Had the whole been governed by one fovereign, or by one coun cil, this important matter never could have been

effectuated. It would be impossible for the most able minil ter that ever lived, to provide nourishment for country so extensive as France, or even as Eng land, supposing those as fully peopled as Holland iciei toun woul confi

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s; even though it should be admitted, that a suficient quantity of food might be found in other
tountries for their subsistence. The enterprize
would be too great, abuses would multiply; the
tonsequence would be, that the inhabitants would
lie for want. But in Holland the case is different;
every little town takes care of its own inhabiants; and this care being the object of application and profit to so many persons, is accomplished
with success.

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FROM LADY MONTAGUE'S LETTERS.

TI is impossible not to observe the difference between the free towns, and those under the government of absolute princes, as all the little fovereigns of Germany are. In the first there appears an air of commerce and plenty: The fireets are well built, and full of people, neatly and plainly dreffed. The shops are loaded with merchandize, and the commonalty are clean and chearful. In the other, you see a fort of shabby finery, a number of dirty people of quality tawdred out: narrow nasty streets out of repair, wretchedly thin of inhabitants, and above half of the common fort asking alms. I cannot help fancying one under the figure of a clean Dutch Citizen's wife; and the other like a poor town lady of pleasure, painted and ribboned out in her head dress, with tarnished filver-laced shoes, a ragged under-petticoat, a miserable mixture of vice and proverty.

We take care to make such short stages every day, that I rather fancy myself upon parties of pleasure, than upon the road; and sure nothing

can be more agreeable than travelling in Holland. The whole country appears a large garden, the roads are all paved, shaded on each side with row of trees, and bordered with large canals, sull o boats passing and repassing. Every twenty pace gives you the prospect of some villa, and ever four hours that of a large town, so surprisingly neat, I am sure you would be charmed with them.

My arrival at Rotterdam, presented me a new scene of pleasure. All the streets are paved with broad stones, and before many of the meanest and ficer's doors, are placed feats of various coloure marbles, fo neatly kept, that I affure you, I walk ed almost all over the town yesterday, incognito in my flippers, without one spot of dirt; and you may fee the Dutch maids washing the pavement of the street with more application than ours d our bed-chambers. The town feems fo full of people, with fuch bufy faces, and all in motion that I can hardly fancy it is not fome celebrate fair; but I fee it every day the fame. It is ce tain no town can be more advantageously situate for commerce. Here are seven large canals, o which the merchants' ships come up to the ver doors of their houses. The shops and warehouse are of a very furprizing neatness and magnif cence, filled with an incredible quantity of fin merchandize, and so much cheaper than what w fee in England, that I have much ado to persuad myself I am still so near it. Here is neither di nor beggary to be feen. One is not shocked with those loathsome cripples, so common in Londa nor teazed with the importunity of idle fellow and wenches, that chuse to be nasty and haz The common fervants and little shop-wome here, are more nicely clean, than most of ou adies; womar in **a**dd

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os in S vois au he re adies; and the great variety of neat dreffes (every voman dreffing her head after her own fashion) is a additional pleasure in seeing the towns.

ACCOUNT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF GENEVA.

BY D'ALEMBERT.

TT is very remarkable, that a city, which con-I tains scarce 24000 inhabitants, and whose scatered territory confifts not of thirty villages, hould be a fovereign state, and one of the most lourishing cities of Europe: enriched by her lierty and her commerce, she frequently beholds very thing around her in flames, without having my share in the calamity. The events which iffurb the rest of Europe, afford her only an musing spectacle, which she observes without takng any part in them. Attached to France, by reaties and by commerce, to England by comnerce and religion, she is too prudent to interest terfelf in the wars that embroil these two powerul nations; she pronounces with impartiality pon the justice of their contests, and judges all he sovereigns of Europe, without flattering, injurng, or fearing them.

The city is well fortified, particularly on the ide of that prince from whom it has most to sear, he King of Sardinia. On the side of France it salmost open and defenceless; but discipline is tept up as in a military place, the arsenals and magazines well furnished, every citizen is a soldier, is in Switzerland, and ancient Rome: The Genevois are allowed to go into foreign service, but he republic does not furnish any state with regu-

lar

lar bodies of men, nor does it suffer an inrolment within its own territories.

Though the individuals are rich, the government is poor, from that aversion which the people shew to new taxes, how little burdensome so ever. The revenues of the state do not amount to 500.000 livres of French money; and yet, by the admirable economy with which they are managed, they are sufficient, and even afford a sur

plus for extraordinary emergencies.

Hereditary dignity is unknown at Geneva: the fons of the first magistrate are lost in the crowd till their own merit distinguishes them; nobility and riches confer neither rank nor privilege, no give any facility of advancement to the offices of the state. All solicitation for places is strictly prohibited:—Public employments are so little to crative, that they afford no temptations for the avaricious: they are objects only to nobler minds by the consideration and respect they procure.

Few disputes come to a legal trial; they are generally adjusted by common friends, by the ad

vocates themselves, and by the judges.

Their sumptuary laws forbid the use of jewel and embroidery, limit the expence of sumerals and oblige all the citizens to walk on foot in the streets, carriages being allowed only in the country.—These laws, which are regarded in France as too severe, nay, almost barbarous and inhuman, by no means abridge the real convenience of life, which are always to be obtained at little expence; they retrench only the pageantry of it which contributes not to happiness, and often produces ruin, without any advantage.

There is, perhaps, no where so many happy marriages: Geneva has, in this respect, the star of our manners at least two centuries:—The results of the start of the

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raints upon luxury remove the fear of a multide of children; and, by this means, luxury is ot, as in France, one of the greatest obstacles to

Geneva has an university, which they call an ademy, where youth are educated without exnce: The professors are eligible into offices of the.—Many of them have become magistrates, at this privilege contributes much to keep up

e emulation and fame of the academy.

Their public library is a well chosen collection books, confishing of twenty-fix thousand vomes, and a great number of manuscripts. The poks are lent to all the citizens, every one reads, ad informs himself; and by this means, the people of Geneva are better instructed than any where he. They find none of those inconveniencies hich we suppose would follow the same indulnate among us; perhaps the Genevois and our pliticians may be both in the right.

All the sciences, and most of the arts, have been altivated with so much success at Geneva, that it surprising to see the list of learned men and arts of every kind, which this city has produced within the last two ages.—It has even had the sood fortune sometimes to be the residence of elebrated strangers, whom its agreeable situation, and the liberty it enjoys, have invited to retire wither. M. de Voltaire, who has resided there or the last seven years, finds, among these republicans, the same marks of esteem and consideration which he has received from so many monarchs.

The ecclesiastical constitution of Geneva is are Presbyterianism; no bishops nor canons:—
Not that they disapprove of episcopacy, but as hey have no faith in the divine right of bishops, hey think Pastors, not quite so rich and impor-

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The ministers are either pastors, like our parish priests, or postulans, as our priests without benefice. The revenue of the pastors does not amount to above 1200 livres, without any casus profits:—The state makes this allowance.—The church has nothing.

Observations of Charles Turner, Esq. Member of Parliament for the City of York, in the Debat in the House of Commons, April 13, 1780, a the Bill for preventing Revenue Officers from voting at Elections.

Pass the bill; that they must do it, the people of England had petitioned for it, and who would gainsay the people of England? The would have their way, they had a right to it, so the constitution of this country was a republic He repeated it, he said, in the sace of all the Crown lawyers, and let them make the most of a republic, and one of the finest in the world! It had held this language to the people in Westmass shad held this language to the people in Westmass shad held this language to the people in Westmass shad held this language to the people in Westmass which governed the subject, it certainly was a republic, and nothing else.

The Speech of Charles Turner, Esq. Member of Parliament for the City of York, to the Elector of Westminster, from the Hustings in Westmin ster Hall, on Thursday the 6th of April, 1780.

I FEEL a satisfaction in addressing so numerou and respectable a body of my countrymen, that cannot cannot be said to be

FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE. annot be animated by a flavish mind. I have ver opposed the torrent of corruption, and the proads of arbitrary power; and though I have een unsuccessful, yet, with your assistance, I will ght and conquer. Corruption and tyranny can ever stand against the virtuous efforts of a free eople: be firm, be resolute and unanimous; affert our birth-right. Annual Parliaments, and an qual representation, are privileges inherent in he constitution; but if you do not think yourelves free with obtaining that object, you have a ight to insist on what government you please. aws were made for the governed, not the goveror; and all government originates with the peole. If you chuse to be slaves, you may submit o an unlimited monarchy, or an oppressive arilocracy; if you wish to be free, you have a right o infift on a democracy, or you have a right to orm a republic. Don't tell me of the power of Parliament, or the power of the Crown; ower originates with yourselves, and if the frown or the Parliament abuse that power you ave invested them with, you have a right to re-asume it: you are the lords of the creation, not he flaves of power: you are our masters, and we te only your fervants, delegated and employed by ou to do your business; and till you pay your ervants, as was anciently the custom, they will ever act to your advantage; if you do not pay hem, the Crown will, and then they become the ervants of the Crown, and no longer the fervants f the people. An honest man can have no inteest but that of his country in coming to parlianent; and if he facrifices his ease and retirement o the duty of a fenator, his expenses at least ught to be reimburfed by his country. You now by your members, with a vengeance, for enflav-No. X.

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ing you, and picking your pockets; but if you would once pay them yourfelves, you would no longer complain of oppression. Act with spirit and resolution: insist upon your privileges, and will meet you at Runny Mead. I love the poor I divide my fortune with them, and I will di with them; the poor man's labour is the ric man's wealth; and without your toil, a king dom would be worth nothing. While I am free you never shall be slaves.

God bless the People!

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THE INHABITANTS OF HELL.

FROM A PAMPHLET ENTITLED THE RIGHT OF THE DEVIL.

THESE (that is the priefts) are the most me merous of all Lucifer's subjects, except the military, for next to the clergy, the military a the most devoted, which may be feen by the ard they discover on all occasions in the service their grand master and monarch, Lucifer. N thing diminishes the zeal of soldiers, no hardship or calamities can intimidate them from the pu fuit of their master's interest. Captivity, prison fetters, chains, flavery or death, give no check! their activity; but havock and devastation a the works of their hands. See how thefe hero leave every thing near and dear behind then Their trades are nothing in comparison to their trinsic acquisitions of the foldier, who facrific every thing to the pleasure of murdering his to low-creatures. How many of these English San culottes have left twenty-five, and even thirty h lings per week, within these six months past,

ain in return fixpence a day, to be food for gunowder, and to distinguish themselves as the best riends and warmest advocates for Satan's kingom. Mark! what difinterestedness! Surely Luifer has some right to such property as this! Only xamine their faces and their figures, both will leclare to you whom they ferve, and whose they ne. Their pale complexions, their tawny counenances, their tanned hides; in short the whole of their meagre bodies, have more the appearance of carcales or skeletons than of human figures. Their bodies, I fay, loaded with wounds, exhausted by labours which they have undergone, with diffempers which confume them, with vermin which gnaw them while alive, with hunger which devours them, with excessive heat, and rigorous cold which they experience and endure with couage and delight, for a poor and wretched stipend, plainly shew that the most powerful and predominant of all their passions, is their defire for the blernal regions. And this is further confirmed by the ardent exclamations with which they conclude every fentence they pronounce; fuch as, The Devil take me! The Devil feize me! The Devil choak me! The Devil fly away with me! &c. &c. Which ejaculations certainly express their earnest wish to go to Lucifer's kingdom. The Devil will never deny his right to fuch property as they are.

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I had like to have omitted informing you, that the military are accompanied with their officers, even in Hell; and why not? They are fond of leading the dance with them on Earth, and furely ought to partake of their pleasures in Hell. They are led by their officers by thousands every day, with colours flying, music playing, and drums beating, amidst the acclamations of all who see

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them, on their journey to Pluto's regions. There is no exception of persons in the military, they go unanimously, hand in hand. There you see them travelling in focial union, with wonderful contrast, generalissimo and private, general and drummer, duke and corporal, prince and ferjeant, kings and ferjeant-majors, emperors and adjuiants in most parts of Europe, vieing with each other, in their various tactical knowledge, to discover who has the greatest ability, in getting tenants in the greatest numbers, to occupy Beelzebub's king dom. Witness the scenes now exhibiting on the other fide the water: what bravery is displayed by the English, Dutch, Prussians, Austrians, Hel hans, Hanoverians, &c. of all ranks and degrees from the prince to the private, in order to trans. port themselves to the infernal regions; and none can be more deferving than those who take up the fword in defence of their common master, for the express purpose of peopling his kingdom Go on, then, ye veterans, hide your trufty blade in the bowels of your brethren: your laurels will cleave to your brows in never-fading and glowing colours: and Satan shall crown you with everlasting honours!

Ignorance the Foundation of unequal Governments and fostered by them designedly.

[From Barlow's Advice to privile ged Orders.]

UNEQUAL governments are necessarily founded on ignorance, and they must be supported by ignorance; to deviate from their principle would be voluntary suicide. The great object of their policy is to perpetuate that undisturbed ignorance

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ance of the people, which is the companion of overty, the parent of crimes, and the pillar of he flate.

In England, the people at large are as perfectly gnorant of the acts of parliament, after they are nade, as they possibly can be before. They are rinted by one man only, who is called the king's rinter-in the old German character, which few nen can read—and fold at a price that few can ford to pay. But, lest some scraps or comments pon them should come to the people, through the nedium of public news-papers, every fuch paper s flamped with a heavy duty: and an act of parament is made, to prevent men from lending heir papers to each other; fo that, not one peron in a hundred fees a news-paper once in a ear. If a man at the bottom of Yorkshire difovers, by instinct, that a law is made which is nteresting for him to know, he has only to make journey to London, find out the king's printer, by a penny a page for the law, and learn the German alphabet. He is then prepared to spell out his duty.

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As to the general system of the laws of the and, on which all property depends, no man in he kingdom knows them, and no man pretends to know them. They are a fathomless abyse, hat exceeds all human faculties to sound. They are studied, not to be understood but to be disputed; not to give information but to breed consisten. The man whose property is depending on a suit at law, dares not look into the gulph that separates him from the wished-for decision; he has no considence in himself, nor in reason, nor in justice; he mounts on the back of a lawyer, like one of Mr. Burke's heroes of chivalry, between the wings of a griffin, and trusts the pilot-

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114 PIGS' MEAT, OR LESSONS

age to a man, who is superior to himself only in the confidence which results from having nothing at stake.

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On the Injustice of taking Fees from Persons acquitted in Courts of Justice.

FROM THE CANDID PHILOSOPHER.

MAN suspected of a felonious action, is taken up, fent to goal, used there in a bar. barous manner, yet when brought to his trial is found perfectly innocent. A man of common sense, unpractifed in the wisdom of our laws, would naturally imagine he would be now difcharged. But no fuch thing; he must be remand. ed to prison to undergo the same harsh treatment he received before his trial, unless he pays the fees that are demanded of him.—They are the poorest people on whom suspicions generally fall, and who, so far from being able to pay gaoler's fees, could scarcely maintain themselves in prilon before the proof of their innocence appeared How cruel, therefore, after punishing an innocent person with imprisonment, making him lose his business and his character, to rob him of his property, under the name of paying fees! - O shame! shame! shame!

Whether the Balance of Dominion in Land be the natural Cause of Empire?

FROM HARRINGTON'S OCEANA.

The man having one hundred pounds a year may keep one fervant, or have one man at his command,

FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE. command, then having one hundred times fo nuch, he may keep one hundred fervants; and his multiplied by a thousand, he may have one hundred thousand men at his command. Now, hat the fingle person, or nobility of any country n Europe, that had but half so many men at command, would be king or prince, is that which think no man will doubt. But no money no Switzers, as the French speak: if the money be flown so are the men also. Though riches in general have wings, and be apt to bate, yet those in land are the most hooded and tied to the perch, whereas those in money have the least hold, and are the swiftest in slight. A bank, where the money takes not wing, but to come home feized, or like a cox duck, may well be great; but the treasure of the Indies going out, and not upon returns, makes no bank. Whence a bank never paid an army; or paying an army, foon became no bank. But where a prince or nobility has an estate in land. the revenue whereof will defray this charge, there their men are planted, have toes that are roots, and arms that bring forth what fruit you please.

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Thus a fingle person is made, or a nobility makes a king, not with difficulty, or any great prudence, but with ease, the rest coming home, as the ox that not only knows his master's crib, but must starve or repair to it. Nor for the same reason is government acquired with more ease than it is preserved; that is, if the soundation of property be in land: but if in money, lightly come, lightly go. The reason why a single person, or the nobility that has one hundred thousand men, or half so many at command, will have the government, is that the estate in land, whereby they are able to maintain so many, in any

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European territory, must overbalance the te that remains to the people, at least three parts four, by which means they are no more able dispute the government with him or them, the your servant is with you. Now, for the same reason, if the people hold three parts in sour of the territory, it is plain there can neither be an single person nor nobility able to dispute the government with them; in this case, therefore, except force be interposed, they govern themselve So by this computation of the balance of propert or dominion in land, you have according to the threefold soundation of property, the root of generation of the threefold kind of government of empire.

If one man be fole landlord of a territory, of overbalance the whole people, three parts in four or thereabouts, he is Grand Seignior; for so the Turk, not from his empire but his property called; and the empire in this case is absolute.

monarchy.

If the few, or a nobility, or a nobility with elergy, be landlords to fuch a proportion as over balances the people in the like manner, they ma make whom they please king; or, if they be no pleased with their king, down with him, and se up whom they like better; a HENRY the fourth or the feventh, a GUISE, a MONTFORT, NEVIL, or a PORTER, should they find that be for their own ends and purposes: For, as not the balance of the king, but that of the nobility, i this case, is the cause of the government, so no the estate or riches of the prince or captain, bu his virtue or ability, or fitness for the ends of th nobility, acquires that command or office. This for aristocracy or mixed monarchy. But if the whole nole people be landlords, or hold the land for wided among them, that no one man or number men within the compass of the sew, or aristoacy over-balance them, it is a commonwealth. In the branch in the root, or the balance of operty naturally producing empire; which not instituted, no man shall be able to batter my surfluctures, and which consuted I lay down my ms; till then, if the cause necessarily precede the effect, property must have a being before emire; or, beginning with it, must be still first in them.

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Property comes to have a being before empire rgovernment two ways, either by a natural or blent revolution. Natural revolution happens om within, or by commerce, as when a governent erected upon one balance, that for exame of a nobility or a clergy, through the decay of heir estates comes to alter to another balance; hich alteration in the root of property leaves all o confusion, or produces a new branch or goennment, according to the kind or nature of he root. Violent revolution happens from withut, or by arms, as when upon conquest there dlows confiscation. Confiscation again is of bree kinds, when the captain taking all to himfelf, lants his army, by way of military colonies, beneices, or timars, which was the policy of MAHO-VET; or when the captain has some sharers, or nobility that divides with him, which was the olicy introduced by the Goths and Vandals; or when the captain divides the inheritance by lots, or otherwise, to the whole people; which policy was instituted by God or Moses in the commonwealth of Israel. This triple distribution, which from natural or violent revolution returns as to

the generation of empire to the same thing, that to the nature of the balance already stated and demonstrated.

ABRIDGMENT OF ROMAN HISTORY.

OMULUS and Remus being fent by the grandfather Numetor, from Alba, at the hea of a colony, to feek a new fettlement, quarrelle about the choice of a fpot where they should to and build them a city; Romulus chusing moun Palatine, and Remus mount Aventine. Remus faid to have loft his life in this dispute. The city was therefore built on mount Palatine, and in compliment to its founder, called Rome. A Romulus had not taken upon him the chief con mand of the colony for any longer time that while the city was building, he, as foon as the work was finished, submitted the form of its future government to the choice of the people, and, ca ling the citizens together, harangued them in word to this effect:

"If all the strength of cities * lay in the height of their ramparts, or the depth of their ditches we should have great reason to be in fear for the which we have now built. Are there in reality any walls too high to be scaled by a valiant energy? And of what use are ramparts in intesting divisions? They may serve for a defence again studden incursions from abroad; but it is by contage and prudence chiefly, that the invasions of

* Rome, properly speaking, says Mr. Hooke, was at find but a very forry village, whereof even the principal inhabitants followed their own ploughs; and until it was rebuilt after burning of it by the Gauls, did not defer the name of a city. Such were the beginnings of the capital of the world!

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FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE. reign enemies are repelled; and by unanimity. briety, and justice, that domestic seditions are evented. Cities fortified by the strongest bularks have been seen to yield to force from withut, or to tumults from within. An exact miliny discipline, and a steady observance of civil olicy, are the furest barriers against these evils. ut there is still another point of great importance be considered the prosperity of some rising olonies, and the speedy ruin of others, have in great measure been owing to their form of goernment. Was there but one manner of ruling ates and cities that could make them happy, the boice would not be difficult. But I have learnt. hat of the various forms of government among he Greeks and Barbarians, there are three which ne highly extolled by those who have experinced them; and yet, that no one of these is in Il respects perfect, but each of them has some inhate and incurable defect. Chuse ye, then, in what manner this city shall be governed. by one man? Shall it be by a felect number of he wisest among us? Or shall the legislative ower be in the people? As for me, I shall submit to any form of administration you shall please to establish. As I think myself not unworthy to command, so neither am I unwilling to obey. Your having chosen me to be the leader of this colony, and your calling the city after my name, are honours sufficient to content me; honours, of which, living or dead, I can never be deprived."

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Romulus was chosen king; and Rome was governed by kings for upwards of 240 years, till the expulsion of Tarquin the second, which was occasioned by his son Sextus ravishing Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, a noble Roman. Lucre-

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tia, upon receiving this injury, fent for her la band, who was then in the camp at Ardea wi Tarquin, and for several of his friends, and have informed them of the outrage she had receive and engaged them to revenge it, stabbed here to the heart, and died before them. The Roma had long groaned under the tyranny and cruel of the Tarquins, and were therefore glad to hold on fo flagrant and outrageous an infuli, shake off their yoke. The famous Junius Brute who for some reasons had masked himself, a concealed great talents, under the appearance idiotism, suddenly threw off his disguise, an going near to the dying lady, drew the point out of her bosom, and shewing it all bloody the affembly, to their great aftonishment, the addressed them:

" Yes, noble lady, I fwear by this blood, which was once fo pure, and which nothing but row villany could have polluted, that I will purh Lucius Tarquinius the proud, his wicked will and their children, with fire and fword, nor w I ever fuffer any of that family, or of any other whatever, to be king in Rome: Ye Gods, I a you to witness this my oath!-There, Roman turn your eyes to that fad spectacle—the daught of Lucretius, Collatinus's wife-fhe died by h own hand. See there a noble lady, whom the lust of a Tarquin reduced to the necessity of being her own executioner, to attest her innocence. Ho pitably entertained by her as a kinfman of he husband's, Sextus, the perfidious guest, became he brutal ravisher. The chaste, the generous Lucrett could not survive the insult. Glorious woman But once only treated as a flave, she thought li no longer to be endured. Lucretia, a woman disdained a life that depended on a tyrant's will

FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE. dfhall we, fhall men, with fuch an example before reyes, and after five-and-twenty years of ignoinious fervitude, shall we, through a fear of ing, defer one fingle instant to affert our lirty? No, Romans, now is the time; the favourle moment we have so long waited for is come. arquin is not at Rome. The patricians are at e head of the enterprize. The city is abunntly provided with men, arms, and all things ceffary. There is nothing wanting to fecure e success, if our own courage does not fail us. nd shall those warriors, who have ever been so ave, when foreign enemies were to be subdued, when conquests were to be made to gratify the mbition and avarice of Tarquin, be then only owards, when they are to deliver themselves om flavery? Some of you, perhaps, are intimiated by the army which Tarquin now commands. he soldiers, you imagine, will take the part of heir general. Banish so groundless a fear. we of liberty is natural to all men. Your felw citizens in the camp feel the weight of opression, with as quick a sense, as you that are in ome. They will as eagerly feize the occasion throwing off the yoke. But, let us grant here may be fome among them who, through aseness of spirit, or a bad education, will be disoled to favour the tyrant. The number of these an be but small, and we have means sufficient in ur hands to reduce them to reason. They left s hostages more dear to them than life. Their ives, their children, their fathers, their mothers te in the city. Courage, Romans, the gods are or us! those Gods, whose temples and altars the mpious Tarquin has profaned by facrifices and bations made with polluted hands, polluted with lood, and with numberless unexpiated crimes No. XI. M committed

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committed against his subjects. Ye Gods, who protected our forefathers! ye Genii, who watch for the preservation and glory of Rome! do you inspire us with courage and unanimity in this glorious cause, and we will, to our last breath desend your worship from all profanation."

[To be continued in following Numbers.]

Eccl. iv. 1, 2, 3. So I returned, and considered a the Oppressions that are done under the Sun and behold, the TEARS of such as were Or PRESSED, and they had NO COMFORTER and on the Side of their Oppressors there was Power, but they had no Comforter. When fore, I praised the Dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive. Yet better is he than both they, which hath not ye been, who hath not seen the EVIL WORK the is done under the Sun.

THE following extract, from a very interest ing work, lately published, intitled "Trave in the Western Hebrides, by the Rev. John La Buchanan," will shew some few of the han ships suffered by our brethren in one part of the free and happy nation. It may be proper to pr mile, that the Islands here spoken of are n those which lie next to the coast of Scotland, b the Western Abudae, a long chain of Island about seventy miles farther west in the Atlant Ocean. It may be also proper to mention, the altho' the author has adopted the title of Trave this work is the refult of observation made him, during his residence in these Islands, in qua ty of Missionary Minister from the Church Scotland, from 1782 to 1790. " The FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE. 123

"There are in these Islands an unfortunate and numerous class of men, known under the

ame of Scallags.

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"The Scallag, whether male or female, is a oor being who, for mere subsistence, becomes a redial flave to another, whether a subtenant, a acksman *, or a laird. The Scallag builds his wn hut, with fods and boughs of trees, and if e is fent from one part of the country to anoher, he moves off his flicks; and, by means of hele, forms a new hut in another place. He is, owever, in most places, encouraged by the posession of the walls of a former hut, which he covers n the best way he can with his old slicks, slubble, nd fern. Five days in the week he works for is mafter: the fixth is allowed to himself, for the ultivation of some scrap of land, on the edge of ome moss or moor: on which he raises a little ail or colewort, barley and potatoes. These aricles, boiled up in one mash, and often without alt, are his only food; except in those seasons and days when he can catch some fish, which he s also obliged not unfrequently to eat without read or falt. The only bread he tastes is a take, made of the flower of barley. He is alowed coarfe shoes, with tartan hose, and a coarse coat, with a blanket or two for clothing. It may occur to an English reader, that, as the Scallag works only five days out of feven for his master, he has two to provide for himself. But it is to recollected, that throughout the whole of Scot-

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land,

^{*} By Tacksmen are meant farmers, to whom extensive tracts of lands are let, and who let them out in small parcels to the poor people, over whom they exercise the most cruel tyranny and oppression. As few of the propietors resides themselves on the Islands, these tacksmen, who are generally relations of the LAIRDS, may be considered the highest class of the people.

land, and all its appendages, Sunday, or the Sabbath as it is called, is celebrated by a total ceffation from all labour, and all amusements, as well as by

religious exercifes.

"The tacksmen and subtenants, formerly on an equal footing, or nearly fo, were wont to plead their cause on equal terms before a common chief. At present they are obliged to be much more submiffive to their tacksmen than ever they were in former times to their lairds or lords. Formerly they were a free, animated, and bold people, commanding respect for their undaunted courage, and repelling injuries from whatever quarter they came, both by words and actions. But now they must approach even the tacksmen, with cringing humility, heartless and discouraged, with tattered rags, hungry bellies and downcast looks, carrying their own implements of husbandry for ten or twelve miles backward and forward, over hills and mountains, to do the work of the tackimen; and must either sit wet in their cloaths all night in a dirty kitchen, or fleep in dirty cloaths, particularly in Luskintire in Harris, exposed to be trampled on by fwine, where the kitchen is commonly the flye. Formerly a Highlander would have drawn his dirk against even a laird, if he had subjected him to the indignity of a blow; at present any tyrannical tacks. man may strike a Scallag, or even a subtenant, with perfect impunity. What degree of spirit and virtue is to be expected, from a people so humbled, so enflaved? What degree of courage, or even inclination to repel an invading enemy? " If we have not money" (some of these tacks. men have been known to fay,) " we have men enough: let us wear them well while they are " in our power." In short they treat them like easts ttach abita ne ta

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easts of burthen; and in all respects like slaves tracked to the soil, as they cannot obtain new abitations, on account of combinations among the tacksmen, and are entirely at the mercy of the aird or tacksman.

"The master or his overseer, often on the soft frivolous pretences, abandons himself to ursts of passion, and with hands, feet and rods, reaks the bones of men and women too. This not an exaggerated picture. The broken ribs sone young maid, named Macklellan, from the illage of Cluar, attest the fact, which was committed by a tacksman, assuming the title of Doctor. This same doctor almost took the life of nother innocent maid from Shilebost; though the gave no other offence, than that of tarrying little longer than he wished, at her mistresses essent, to finish something she had in hand."

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GOVERNMENT, OR NATION, OF CI-TIZENS IS INVULNERABLE.

FROM HARRINGTON'S OCEANA.

A LL government, as is implied by what has been already shewn, is of these three kinds: A government of sub-eds; or, A government of citizens. The first is about monarchy, as that of Turkey: The second aritocratical monarchy, as that of France: The third commonwealth, as those of Israel, of Rome, of Holland. Now to follow MACHIAVEL (in part) of these, the government of servants is the marder to be conquered, and the easier to be held: The government of subjects is the easier to be conquered and the harder to be held. To which

M 3 I shall

I shall presume to add, that the government of citizens is both the hardest to be conquered, and the hardest to be held.

My author's reasons, why a government of servants is the hardest to be conquered, come to this that they are under perpetual discipline and command, void of such interests and factions as have hands or power to hold upon advantages or innovation; whence he that invades the Turk must trust to his own strength, and not rely upon disorders in the government, or forces which he shall

be fure enough to find united.

His reasons why this government, being once broken, is easily held, are, that the armies once past hope of rallying, there being no such thing as families hanging together, or nobility to ftir up their dependants to further reluctancy for the present, or to preserve themselves by complaicence with the conquerors, for future discontents or advantages, he that has won the garland has no more to do but to extinguish the royal line, and wear it ever after in fecurity. For the people having been always flaves, are fuch whose condition he may better, in which case they are gainers by their conqueror, but can never make work, and therefore they lose nothing by him. Hence ALEXANDER having conquered the Persian empire, he and his captains after him could hold it without the least dispute, except it arose among Hence MAHOMET the fecond have ing taken Constantinople, and put Palaologus the Greek emperor (whose government was of like nature with the Persian) together with his whole family, to the fword, the Turk has held that em pire without reluctancy.

On the other fide, the reasons why a government of subjects is easier conquered, are these. That it is supported by a nobility so antient, so

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, FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE.

owerful, and of fuch hold and influence upon the eople, that the king without danger, if not ruin himself or the throne (an example whereof was iven in HENRY the seventh of England,) can either invade their privileges, nor level their states; which remaining, they have power pon every discontent to call in an enemy, as ROBERT Count of Artois did the English, and he Duke of Guise the Spaniard, into France.

The reasons why a government of subjects eing so easily conquered, is nevertheless harder o be held, are thefe: that the nobility being foon out of countenance in fuch a case, and repenting hemselves of such a bargain, have the same means n their hands, whereby they brought in the eneny, to drive him out, as those of France did both

he English and the Spaniards.

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For the government of citizens, as it is of two kinds, an equal or an unequal commonwealth, the reason why it is the hardest to be conquered, are also of two kinds; as first, the reasons why a government of citizens, where the commonwealth is equal, is hardest to be conquered, are, that the invader of fuch a fociety must not only trust to his own strength, infomuch as the commonwealth being equal, he must needs find them united, but in regard, that fuch citizens being all foldiers or trained up to their arms, which they use not for the defence of flavery, but of LIBERTY A CONDITION NOT IN THIS WORLD TO BE BETTERED); they have more especially upon this occasion, the highest soul of courage, and (if their territory be of any extent) the vastest body of a well disciplined militia that is possible in nature: wherefore AN EXAMPLE OF SUCH A ONE OVERCOME BY THE ARMS OF A MONARCH, IS NOT TO BE FOUND IN THE WORLD.

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be vanquished by a potent commonwealth, this is her prerogative, her towers are her funeral pile, and she expires in her own flame, leaving nothing to the conqueror but her ashes, as Saguntum overwhelmed by Carthage, and Numantia by Rome.

A DESCRIPTION OF PRINCE LUCIFER'S SUBJECTS.

[From a Pamphlet entitled: The Rights of the Devil.]

LL those men whatever description, or what-L ever country they may belong to, in whom the Devil has right and property, and over whom he extends his influence, are like wolves, eafily distinguished from the sheep, to which he lays claim; because there is a particular mark whereby you may know those ravenous beasts. Moreover, you will always fee them exceedingly active in their monarch Lucifer's service; they are invested with full power to oppress and torture human nature, for the fake of plunder-Their iron hearts are dead to the feelings of humanity; they regard not the cries of the fatherless, neither does the cause of the widow come near them. Cast an eye to the cruelties daily committed in the flave trade; reflect for a moment on the many thousands of wretched Africans, who are tortured out of existence yearly, in order to exact from their labour, to which in justice they have not the least claim. Some in the various modes of obtaining them; others fulfocated in the floating bastiles, by the stench and corrupted air, which they breathe in the hold, while being conveyed to the land of flavery and death,

eath, in the West Indies; and those who survive he shocking treatment they experience while on oard, or are not swint away by disease, have mly a worse sate awaiting them: worked without ntermission, and slogged was fout commisseration, hey are hurried to their eternal home, by those avage monsters who have the charge of them. Thus are these innocent beings murdered by the gents and servants of the devil, whom they dore and serve, and whose right and property

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Is not the influence of Satan very visible in some ther illustrious characters, the avowed enemies of the human race, who claim and lay hold upon he tenth of the product of the earth, which have ten increased by improvement, and produced by he sweating brows of other men? Can there be ny justice in such plundering as this? or rather, snot that man a better character who only itops. ou in the highway once in your life, and exacts rom you your purse? You will certainly answer bese questions in the affirmative, and declare that we are completely humbugged by the prichthood. Hence arises the necessity of priestcraft to blind he eyes of the people, and render them totally gnorant and unacquainted in this important act, that a priesthood is and always has been curse to all nations of the earth. Ignorance n the multitude is the chief support and ony nutriment by which the vanity and pride of the clergy is fed. As tythe pigs fill their filthy ties and black waistcoats of corruption. beluded swinish multitude, typified by the tythe ig; highly emblematical of your wallowing in he mire of church and state, while the idle and diffipated beings who oppress you, are rolling in luxury and debauchery, at the expence of your

your delusion. How long will you not call to Beelzebub to remove from you your tormenton and take them, as his right to his eternal king dom?

There is another has of men, in whom Luc fer has great read, and are thus described by Lord Chatham: "There is," fays he, "a fet of " men in London, who are known to live in rio and luxury, upon the plunder of the ignoran " the innocent, and the helpless; upon that pa " of the community which stands in most need of and best deserves the care and protection of the " legislature. To me, my lords, whether they b " miserable jobbers of Change-alley, or the loss Afiatic plunderers of Leadenhall-freet, the are all equally detestable. I care but litt whether a man walks on foot, or is drawn to fix or eight horses; if his luxury be supported by the plunder of his country, I despile an abhor him. My lords, while I had the honour " ferving his majesty, I never ventured to look " the Treasury, but from a distance, it is a but ness I am unfit for, and to which I never cou have fubmitted. The little I know of it, h not ferved to raife my opinion of what is vu garly called the monied interest, I mean the blood-sucker that muck-worm, which calls ille the friend of government, which pretends ferve this or that administration, and may " purchased on the same terms by any administr tion. Under this description I include the who " race of commissioners, jobbers, contractors, d " thiers, and remitters." To these may be adde all placemen (in general) pensioners, gapers, a expectants, collectors of excise and customs, pr prietors of ministerial newspapers, humane pre gangs, &c. &c. all come under one class or denon nation of Lucifer's loyal, and loving subjects, w devo

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To enumerate all the various characters in the ferent parts of the world, over whom the devil ercifes a special right and influence, would reire an age. Yet you may observe, that I have pinted out to you, some of the most conspicuous rlons who are the destined inhabitants of Lucir's kingdom, from the regal oppressor to the eanest peasant. What mean ye, that ye beat my ople to pieces, and GRIND the faces of the poor? ith the Lord God of Hosts. Isaiah iii. 15 .herefore my people are gone into capitvity, BE-AUSE THEY HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE; and eir honourable men are famished, and their multude (i. e. the swinish multitude) dried up with inft. Therefore HELL hath enlarged herfelf, nd opened her mouth without measure, and their lory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he hat rejoiceth, shall descend into it. Isaiah v. 13. or the leaders of this people CAUSE them to err; nd THEY that are led of them ARE destroyed. laiah ix. 16. Thus you see the people are deroyed, because they rid not the earth of such procritical leaders, or governors, tyrants, or alle teachers, and chuse from among themselves pen to rule over them. Wo unto them that decree wighteous decrees, and that write grievousness thich they have prescribed: To turn aside the udy from judgment, and to take away the RIGHT rom the poor of my people, that widows may be heir prey, and that they may rob the fatherlefs! laiah, x. 1, 2. Hence, it appears, that to take way the rights of the people is a fin, but to refuse o reflore them when demanded is still worse; herefore HELL hath enlarged herself to receive hem.

WHO WOULD NOT BE A SOLDIER

FROM THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

TOU must drink the King of BULGA RIA's health, faid the foldiers; he the best of kings. Most willingly, replied Can dide, and drank. Now you are a brave fellow faid they; you are become his fupport, his defen der, one of the heroes of Bulgaria; your fortun is made, your fame eternal. They then put hand cuffs on his wrifts, and conducted him to the There they made him turn to the right, wheel to the left, shoulder his musket, re upon his arms, prefent, fire, march and counter march; in return for which the drill leriean gave him fome thirty strokes with the cane. The next day he performed his exercise better, an received only twenty. On the morrow they gaw him but ten, and all his comrades regarded him as a prodigy of genius.

The aftonished Candide could not conceive what enchantment he had become a hero. On pleafant morning in fpring, when the birds were finging, and the trees beginning to bloom, h thought proper to take a walk. Proceeding in a right line, and supposing it was the privileged the human species, like other animals, to make use of their legs, he had not gone above two leagues, before fix other heroes, each of fix fee high, overtook him, bound him, and threw him into a dungeon. He was juridically asked, whe ther he preferred being thirty-fix times flogge through the regiment, or to fuffer twelve ball to pass through his brains? In vain did he affer the freedom of the will, and affirm, that he preferred neither the one nor the other: chuse he ust, a alled ing. there

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FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE. uft, and, in virtue of that gift of God, which is illed Liberty, he concluded in favour of flogng. He was twice brought to the halbards, here he each time received five hundred lashes. hich flayed him from the hips to the nape of the eck, and laid the muscles and nerves all bare. s they were proceeding to the third course. ANDIDE, unable to endure more, requested for od's fake, they would have the goodness to blow ut his brains. His petition was favourably reeived; but, as he was kneeling blindfold, the ling of the Bulgarians happened to come to the arade, and enquired concerning his crime. As his king was a man of great genius, he compreended, from the story they told him, that CAN-IDE was a young metaphylician, ignorant of the world, and he granted his pardon; which clemeny has been and will be recorded in every newsaper, every history, and every age. A skilful urgeon in three weeks cured CANDIDE by use f the emollients which DIOSCORIDES precribes. The skin again began to cover his back, nd he was able to march, when the King of the Bulgarians gave battle to the King of the Aba-

Nothing could be so charming, so dazzling, so well disciplined, so well appointed as the two rmies. The trumpets, drums, hautboys, sifes, and cannon formed a concert of such harmony as dell itself never equalled. To begin, the artilery laid low about six thousand men on each side. The musquetry next dispatched between nine and en thousand knaves, who inselted the surface of his best of possible worlds; and the bayonet in its surn, was the adequate cause of the death of as many more. The whole amount was at least hirty thousand souls. Candide, who trembled No. XII.

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like a philosopher, hid himself as well as he con during this heroic butchery. At length, while the two kings ordered Te deum to be fung in the two camps, he thought proper to depart and re ion ellewhere on caules and effects. He paffe over mountains of the dying and the dead. The first village he came to belonged to the Abarian it was reeking with smoke, having been burnt the Bulgarians, according to the laws of nation Here stood old men maimed by the enemy, ga ing on their murdered wives, with their dead chi dren extended on their bleeding bosoms. The lay virgins with their wombs ripped open, aft having appealed the natural appetites of certain heroes, giving up the ghost. Others, half roale called aloud for some one to come and dispate them entirely. Here the brains of men we scattered, here their arms, here their legs, a here their mangled trunks. CANDIDE fled wi all his might to another village, that belonged the Bulgarians, which the heroes of Abariah treated in much the same manner. At leng marching over limbs still trembling, hearts st palpitating, and fires yet unextinguished, he lu ily escaped from the theatre of war and glory.

From the Candid Philosopher, printed in the ye

ON THE PROGRESS OF LIBERTY IN FRANC

HOWEVER the present age may have recommande the most rapid advances in a freedom a liberality of sentiment which do honour to he man nature. The French nation has particular distinguish

FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE. 135 flinguished itself in this respect. Its writers disay a vigour of thought they have till now been most strangers to. They plead the cause of uman nature, and affert man's natural rights. ith an energy and warmth that feem to indicate espeedy downfall of that vast fabric of superstion and error, that has hitherto fo greatly obnucled the progress of free enquiry, and chilled ren the emotions of humanity. What writer of ny nation can express himself with greater zeal or the fovereignty of the laws, against the blind ill of the monarch, the tyrapny of ministers, or e clamour of a mob, than to lay this down as a off maxim? " Le glaire redoubtable de la justice a point été deposédans les mains des magistrats, our venger des haines particulieres, ni même our suivre les mouvemens de l'indignation pubque. C'est à LA LOI SEULE qu'il appartient de arquer les victimes; et si les clameurs d'une mulude aveugle et passionnée pouvoient décider les ges à prononcer une Peine capitale, l'innocence rendroit la place du crime, et il n'y auroit plus de rete pour le citoyen." These are just and exelent fentiments; but they are not peculiar to his writer. The greater part of his countrymen ow think with the same freedom, and speak with ne same force. This liberal spirit has a greater endency to exalt the French nation than all the ilitary operations of their much boasted Lewis IIV. whose glories funk, and whose victories unoverished, the kingdom he fought to strengthen nd enrich. However, as Englishmen, we may ament the dawning splendor of the French nonarchy, enlightened by the Sun of science; et, as citizens of the universe, we must rejoice at he great and glorious effects produced by the enius of liberty, that can turn Siberia's deserts N 2

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into Albion's fertile plains; unlock the fourcest plenty and blifs, and change brutes and fine into men and heroes!

ON A LIFE OF LABOUR.

FROM THE SAME.

WE read in many authors great encomium on a life of labour, and of the superior blessings of peasants and hard working men, who temperate and abstemious lives not only make them enjoy an uninterrupted state of health, he throw a crimson on their cheeks, and give a we gour to their bodies, the sons of wealth and affect they tell us, may in vain sigh for. The sounds well; but I own I am doubtful of the fact.

If I compare the working part of manking who fare hard and work hard, with those who eat and drink of the good "things of the earth, I think I can discern better complexions, choice animal spirits, and stronger bodies in the latter than in the former. Incessant labour, and coast and scanty food, have certainly a tendency to weaken the bodies of mankind, and wear them out before their time: And this we see is the case What becomes then of the sine spun theories of visionary authors, who so greatly extol a laborious life?—Why, they are destroyed, like other cobweb systems, that will not bear handling.

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he personal Virtues of a Monarch are unable to secure him from contempt, if he will be led blind-fold by wicked Ministers.

FROM THE SAME.

A MONARCH who will fuffer himself to be directed by vicious favourites and ministers, hough virtuous in himfelf, is, in fact, the author f their vices, and all the unhappy confequences hat refult from them. A monarch who is the ather of his people, should not be the dupe of favourite. A monarch who should see and udge for himself, should not take things upon ruft. If a nation, from the height of splendour nd glory, should be brought by the ignorance or reachery of incapable or wicked ministers, to a late of misery and contempt, despised abroad, and t home unhappy—it is but poor consolation to reflect, that the king has many personal virtues. Was this imaginary description to become a real picture of a nation, and its virtuous monarch, I would cry out with Marcus, in the Tragedy of Cato.

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"Curse on his virtues!—they've undone his country,"

MODERN MOTIVES FOR WAR.

FROM BARLOW'S ADVICE TO THE PRIVI-LEGED ORDERS.

ONE general character will apply to much the greater part of the wars of modern times,—they are political, and not vindictive. This alone is sufficient to account for their real origin.

N 3

They are wars of agreement, rather than of dif. fention; and the conquest is taxes, and not terntory. To carry on this business, it is necessary not only to keep up the military spirit of the noblesse by titles and pensions, and to keep in pav a vast number of troops, who know no other God but their king; who lose all ideas of themselves, in contemplating their officers; and who forget the duties of a man, to practife those of a soldier -this is but half the operation: an effential part of the military system is to disarm the people, to hold all the functions of war, as well the arm that executes, as the will that declares it, equal ly above their reach. This part of the fysien has a double effect, it palfies the hand and brutalizes the mind: an habitual difuse of physical forces totally destroys the moral; and men lose a once the power of protecting themselves, and of discerning the cause of their oppression.

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ON THE GOVERNMENT OF HELL.

[From a Pamphlet entitled: The Rights of the Devil.]

WE have a long time disputed, and are no yet agreed in this point, what is the bel and most advantageous form of government so any nation, and for the people whereof it consists. Some are for a democracy, others for aristocracy and others for monarchy. Although each of the opinions has its favourites, and is supported by very solid reasons; it nevertheless appear certain, that monarchy prevails over the other two, because the four great empires which succeeded one another in the world, and existence the other two thousand years, all adopted and sollowed a monarchical and another in the world.

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amonarchical form of government. And it appears to be an indisputable fact, that this is the government of the infernal empire (viz.) an abolute monarchy. It is undoubtedly the best form of government for the monarch, whatever it may be for the subjects, because the Devil assumes the power of the whole mass of beings collectively, and confequently can make what aggrandizement he pleases at the expence of his vassals, and they dare not grunt their disapprobation. Thus, you see the Devil has a right and property in his subjects, as he, like earthly monarchs, can rob and plunder them at his pleafure, and is accountable to no one for his deeds; for it is an established maxim, " that kings can do no wrong." Therefore, Lucifer, as King of Hell, cannot act amis. But you are ready to ask, from whence did the Devil derive these inestimable rights and privileges? Did the people, his subjects, give up their rights? No: he acquired them by affumption: and by God's permission, he has possessed those valuable rights through a series of ages, and will continue to enjoy them for ages to come, as there is no heir apparent to succeed him. those Rights of the Devil, with respect to the length of time he enjoys them, far superior to the Rights of earthly Kings? certainly they are, as hiftory furnishes us with documents to prove that he has exercised those rights through a succession of ages, already near fix thousand years; and will undoubtedly enjoy them as many more. The infernal monarchy, according to history, appears to have been original; for I do not recollect reading of any other previous to the establishment of a monarchical government in Hell by the puissant Lucifer. Why, thou fool, fay some of you, how shouldst thou hear of its having a precedent, fince

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its originality is unquestionable, and all other absolute monarchies are but eminations from the primary authority, having their existence from that very fource. Hell is the fountain head, an all terrestrial monarchies, I fay, are but corrupte waters in comparison with the fountain which fupplies them, notwithstanding no labour has been lost on the part of the monarchs in all ages an kingdoms, to render their governments pure lik their original. Yet Hell is the most peaceable and justice therein the best administered of an other Kingdom I have ever heard of. No wars no riots! no tumults or infurrections! no traitor ous correspondence! no sedition or attempt i alienate the affections of Lucifer's subjects from his person! no attempt to visify and bring int contempt the constitution of the empire! But, of the contrary, the virtues most prevalent are, units peace and concord, throughout the whole of Lu cifer's dominions. In Hell, the public tranqui lity is never disturbed in any state or apartment There you will hear of no fuch odious names, a Paine, or Priestley, to alarm or terrify you, by their endeavours to subvert the government of the country. There will be no Birmingham Rober fpieres to affright, or diffurb " the loyal lo Nott," when he lays down his head, on the lap of his mother, of whom poor Job has fuch dreadtu apprehenfions.

Go on, thou loyal true blue, and pursue the journey, and fear not, for thou mayest affured depend upon a welcome reception by King Luci fer, but more especially if thou art accompanies by thy consort Betty Martin, no questions with then be asked, the mark in your foreheads will testify whose subjects you are. Hail! happy Joh and Betty! Two faithful pot companions; gree

FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE. he brethren of the houshold with an unholy kifs, when you enter those happy realms, where loyaly and unanimity ever dwells. Who can avoid contemplating the happiness of Job, when undisurbed by his enemies? There is no fuch thing as a Jacobin in Hell; and the names of Paine, Priestley, and in short the names of all modern esormers, are detestable there as well as here; no projects of reform are recognized there; in fact, there is no necessity, the constitution being in its primitive purity, which is rendered manifest by the defire anti-republicans and others shew in their emigration thither. What has been left undone by the celebrated Job Nott, the more effeetually to secure to himself a place at the helm of affairs in Satan's kingdom? Has not every thing in his power been done, to obtain the favour of his master Lucifer? Certainly Job has been a very zealous friend in his mafter's fervice, which was very conspicuous in his conduct in the Birmingham riots; and he is entitled to patronage and promotion in the court of Lucifer, in whom the fole right of conferring places, honours, pensions, and emoluments is invested. Job's literary productions have also contributed very much to the population of the infernal regions; which will undoubtedly prejudice the inhabitants greatly m his favour. Methinks, I hear some of you say that I am jealous of the honour about to be done to Job: no, no; far be it from me to envy any man: for I declare to Job and all the world, that neither envy, hatred, malice, or uncharitableness, hall ever find place within me.

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The Impossibility of commencing Tyrant over a armed Nation convinced of the universal Equality of Mankind.

[From Barlow's Advice to the Privileged Orders.]

NLY admit this original, unalterable truth that all men are equal in their rights, and the foundation of every thing is laid; to build the fuperstructures requires no effort but that of natu ral deduction. The first necessary deduction wil be, that the people will form an equal representative government; in which it will be impossible for orders or privileges to exist for a moment and confequently the first materials for flanding armies will be converted into peaceable member of the state. Another deduction follows, that the people will be univerfally armed: they wil affume those weapons for security, which the ar of war has invented for destruction. You wil then have removed the necessity of a standing army by the organization of the legislature, and the possibility of it, by the arrangement of the militia for it is as impossible for an armed soldiery to exist in an armed nation, as for a nobility to exist under an equal government.

It is curious to remark how ill we reason on human nature, from being accustomed to view it under the disguise which the unequal governments of the world have always imposed upon it. During the American war, and especially towards its close, General Washington might be said to possess the hearts of all the Americans. His recommendation was law, and he was able to command the whole power of that people for any purpose of defence. The philosophers of Europe considered this as a dangerous crisis to the cause

freedom. They knew, from the example of war, and Sylla, and Marius, and Alcibiades, and ericles, and Cromwell, that Washington would ever lay down his arms, till he had given his ountry a master. But after he did lay them own, then came the miracle—his virtue was nore than human; and it is by this miracle of irtue in him, that the Americans are supposed

enjoy their liberty at this day.

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I believe the virtue of that great man to be qual to the highest human virtue that has ever et been known; but to an American eye no atraordinary portion of it could appear in that ransaction. It would have been impossible for he General, or the army, to have continued in the ield after the enemy left it; for the foldiers were all citizens! and if it had been otherwise, their numbers were not the hundredth part of the cititens at large, who were all foldiers. To fay that he was wife in differning the impossibility of fuccels, in an attempt to imitate the great heroes above mentioned, is to give him only the fame merit for fagacity which is common to every other person who knows the country, or has well confidered the effects of equal liberty.

ON THE POMPOUS TITLES GIVEN TO THE DIGNIFIED CLERGY.

FROM THE CANDID PHILOSOPHER.

THE pompous titles given to the haughty successfors of humble fishermen, have often amazed me. Some of them appear to me either to border on the very confines of blasphemy, or to have no meaning in them. I would fain know how

how any man alive can, with propriety, be called a RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD What is the meaning of this great title? How ca any man, formed of dust and ashes, full of frail and full of fin, be faid to be RIGHT REVEREND And how is he a Father in GOD? Equivocation may explain away these words, but common feel must determine they are impious and absurd, As to the terms; your Grace, your Lordship, you Reverence, &c. &c. they favour too much vanity and laical pride, to become the humilin of the disciples of CHRIST and teachers of h gospel. I cannot find any such titles were ev given to our SAVIOUR or his apostles; ye without intending any affront to the pious Paffo of the established Church, I really think the apo tles were as holy, wife and virtuous, as any the Primates, Archbishops, Prebendaries, Rec tors, Vicars, &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. of the prefer

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END OF THE FIRST PART.

Note,—At the End of the SECOND PART will he given a TABLE of CONTENTS to the Volume.

^{***} The Remaining Part of the Work will be published as the former, namely, in Weekly Penn, Numbers.

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OF

PIGS' MEAT;

O.R.

Lessons for the Swinish Multitude.

PUBLISHED IN WEEKLY PENNY NUMBERS.

feds in the English Constitution, as to Representation. From the Complaints of the Poor People of England. By G. Dyer. B. A.

N England few poor men have any share in making the laws. Some may probably think, and certain oliticians affert, that poor men have neither the wer, nor the right, to make laws. What is this, t to affert, that the poor man's portion in England lavery. I do not fay, that the poor people of Engnd are flaves. But this I fay, that all freemen make teir own laws; and I do but speak after our best potical writers. Will gentlemen tell me, why poor en are to be flaves? However, while I confider tery man's right to make laws, as his most facred protry, and the exercise of that right as essential to lierty, whoever cannot exercise that right, be he ever so ch, I must at least consider as poor; in the worst sense or. My complaints, therefore, do not confine them-No. XIII. felves

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felves to paupers, commonly fo called. Many poor men live in England, who are possessed of thousands!

There are two ways of making laws, viz. in ou own persons, or by representatives. If a country large and populous, all the people cannot affemble and confult together for the purpose of making laws but if they authorize persons, acquainted with the wants, and interested in their happiness, to represen them, every good end may be answered. The only danger is, left these persons should not express the public mind. Never will they express it, unless the represent the public.—This is the case in England the government of which it is usual to call a limite monarchy, in reference to the person of the prince But in reference to the people, so great a part whom have no share in representation, it might h called, notwithstanding what we say of the house commons, a mixt aristocracy, as Poland has bee called.

The king, the house of peers, and the house commons, compose what are called the three branch of the constitution—the king in his own person, to nobles in their own persons. What is a house of commons? It is supposed to represent the people: be some say, it is a fiction; that is, that it does not exist, but that it is only supposed to exist. When me inquire into facts, what are called theories frequent vanish. We talk of a house of commons, of a house of representatives; it is the glory of Britons! a sorieigners laugh at us. They ask us, Where is the house? I leave others to answer this question.

If this house of commons were indeed something more than a siction, I should myself retract a little my wonted admiration. A house of commons, sain and equally representing all the people of Englan never did exist. But if it were not a mere siction, it were a reality, I should still be obliged to yie formething to the following remark, viz. that a house of commons supposes some superior house, of noble

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or some such name. But where any order of men exists, of separate claims and of separate interests from the people, and whose separate characters give them a kind of sacred superiority over the people, liberty may perhaps be endangered. It has been afferted, whether wally I do not determine, that such a house as that of thouse of commons exists in no free state.

I shall here make a few remarks on nobility. I will repeat what an ancient writer says: "In no state," says he, "are the nobles sayourable to the people: equals are sayourable to equals." And elsewhere he observes, in every part of the earth, the government of the nobles is inconsistent with that of the people: and he gives his reasons for the opposition of the two orders. A French writer, perhaps, had his eye on these passages, when he said, the Engish nobility buried themselves with Charles I. under the ruins of the throne. He adds, "they think it in honour to obey a king, but consider it as the lowest

infamy to share the power with the people.

It might be easily shown, that a patent nobility made no part of the old English government, or of the other governments of Europe. Xenophon and Montesquien were friends, the one to aristocracy, the other to monarchy, yet nobody ever more exposed them. It is of a government, where an hereditary patent nobility is faid to balance the two extremes of monarchy and democracy, that Blackstone observes, It creates and preferves that gradual scale of digity, which proceeds from the beggar to the prince, thing like a pyramid from a broad foundation, and diminishing to a point as it rifes. It is this afcending and contracting proportion, that adds stability to my government; for when the departure is sudden from one extreme to another, we may pronounce that the to be precarious." This is beautiful, flattering to national vanity, but it is theoretical. The according and contracting proportion is feen among nost of the American states, in a house of representa-

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tives chosen by the people, in a fenate appointed h the representatives, and in a president, or governo appointed mediately or immediately by the people yet the Americans have no nobles. The fystem aristocracy, they think, tends to weakness. It di folves, they fay, the ties of families by the law of pr mogeniture; exhausts the public money in places for the younger branches of noble families; keeps the orders of fociety in a kind of dwarfish state, by pe petuating the maxims of a barbarous age; weaker the legislature by advancing men to legislation, who private regards abforb public spirit, and who are i responsible to the nation; and, by dividing man fro man, enteebles the order of human beings. Who ca tell where the tide of contingencies will flow? France in whose political fabric nobility did indeed feem form the great Corinthian capital, faw it necessary remove it, to raise a government of justice.

"I have also admitted that an order of noble might exist without a patent nobility. I have not la that it is necessary; or if necessary, that an hereditar nobility is. Its great use may be thought to conditi torming a kind of senate to give bias and confistence to other powers, and to produce a harmony in states a fenate has even been thought effential to a republi France, we have been told, has left out of her politic fabric the pillar of ftrength. "Never," fays a write " before this time was heard of a body politic withou fuch a council;" yet Geneva, in the infancy of the republic, was fuch: a more scientific writer than M Burke, though he elsewhere says, that a king and per ple may exist without a senate, yet does, in fact, say "there never was a good government in the world, the did not confut of the three simple species, of monarchy aristocracy, and democracy."

"Yet France has thought otherwise. She think that by breaking the distinctions between man an man, she strengthens society, and makes the public force permanent by uniting it in a national assembly I decide

decide nothing on the truth of thefe fentiments: I propose these questions:—Was it not the existence of he two orders of patricians and plebeians, that pronoted all the disorders of the Roman government; Were not the fenatus confulta and the plebifcita frequently little else than exclusive decrees for particular merelts? And while the patricians were encroachng on the plebeians, the tribunes, called to the aid of he plebeians, became in their turn factious demagogues. Amid private regards was not public lierty unknown? Was it not a senate that destroyed the liberties of Geneva?"

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But to return to the House of commons. Whom, or what does a house of commons represent?—not always rational beings, men and women; but for the greater part, property; and property of a particular kind. Property, though ever fo large, copyhold, leafehold, or personal, cannot be represented, but freehold estates only, possessed by men. Females, though possessed of 100,000l, a year, either in land or money, have no representatives. Since the reign of Henry VI. none can be electors of knights of the shire, but men possessed of forty shillings a year. But how few poor men have freeholds! Some parishes confisting of several hundred persons, perhaps, have not a single freholder. Some of the largest and most wealthy towns in England have not a fingle representative. have not yet spoken of boroughs. But our theory begins to vanish!

If the reader can avoid finiling at the following lets, I shall think him simple; if he feel no indig-

nation, I shall think him something worse.

The borough of Midhurst in Sussex, it is well hown, contains not a fingle house, and yet fends two members to Parliament. The right of election is in me hundred and twenty burgage-holds; the former stuation of which is marked out by a stone on each ide.—The borough of Old Sarum, in Wiltshire fends two members to parliament; yet there is but one or

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two houses standing. The members are chosen by bailiss, and fix burgesses, appointed by Lord Camel ford, the lord of the barough, and entrusted by him with burgage-scites. The borough of Gatton and Castle-Rising have each two houses only, and two re

presentatives each.

The tenures of Midhurst, I would observe, mak no part of the town of Midhurst. They were the property of the late Lord Montague, who, at the time of the election, made a temporary assignment of a part of them, either to some of his domestics of friends, in order to have those members returned that he should nominate. The trustees of the estates of the present lord sold these burgage-holds to the earlow Egremont for 40,000 guineas, whose brothers were returned for this borough the last general election.

Hastings, in Sussex, before the passing of MacCrewe's bill, was entirely at the disposal of the treasury. The number of voters was about twenty, a of whom had places under government, or were provided for some other way. This is the borough think, in the management of which a Mr. Collins as quired a most splendid fortune, and made ample provision for sive co-heiresses, his daughters. The borough of Hastings, I think, is still in the management of government. These are what are called rotten be

roughs.

I have already hinted that some large towns, and these abounding with manufactories, have not a single representative: and even where property is represented it is not represented equally. The county of Middlesex, in 1693, paid 80 parts of the land tax, and in 1697, 185 of the substidy, and sent only eight members to parliament; while Cornwall paid but eight parts of the land tax, and sive only of the substide and yet sent forty-sour. As to the rotten boroughs of some of which I have just spoken, they represent nobody; they are private property. The persons whe are chosen for them represent nobody, yet they have

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Il the power of representatives: a use also they cerainly have; they strengthen the influence of the crown; and is a man have money enough to purchase a borough, and meanness enough to obey the beck of the minister, we know the rest.—Thus it is, that persons, who were never appointed by the people, make

aws. The house of representatives amounts to between ive and fix hundred members; the majority of which are appointed by voters not exceeding twelve thoufand; the nation confifts of seven or eight million: so that the persons who do actually give a vote for members are, comparatively, a small part of the community. The Duke of Richmond, whose statement I here nearly follow, once understood political calculation; and I am persuaded, it is only what is supposed to be the danger of the experiment, that makes him fearful of the rule Mr. Paine observes, that not above of practice. one in seven is represented; this relates to reprefentatives, actually chosen: for when all the circumfances taken into the account are confidered, one writer afferts, that the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel have not been visited by fix members in any parlament, elected, appointed, or delegated by their conthuents; and another, that not one person in five housand is represented. But leaving these writers, lak again, Where is our house of commons? Some all it a stubborn aristocracy. Where is our house of representatives?—Some call it a fiction. Our theory they fay is gone. Be this as it may, the poor man is left to pay taxes.

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AN APOLOGY FOR YOUNGER BROTHER

By the Author of A Plea for a Common Wealth, Printed in the Year 1659.

IT hath been a long received custom in this land, or at least, of as ancient date as the Norman monar, chy, that notwithstanding the elder son obtains the whole inheritance, yet to bestow a generous and liberal education on the younger, in which, considering the circumstances of those times, together with the complexion of their government, I find no cause wherefore to accuse our ancestors, of either imput

dence or injustice.

For first, the levelling of estates hath always (and that justly enough) been accounted altogether in fuitable to the majesty and gaudy splendor of monar. chial government, which hath fometimes, though falfely been supposed, not only the most absolute an perfect form, but that which by long experience had been found most fuitable to the genius or humourd the English people, the interest of which government is rather to have large public revenues, with a val flock of preferments, wherewith to gratify the anbition of the more ingenious part of the gentry, who have nothing to rely on fave what they can purchase in the favour of their prince. Nor was antiquity herein deceived; for when the greatest part of the nation, by this means, reap their chief subsistence from the public revenues of the Commonwealth, and favour of the prince, in whose sole dispose they are, and on whom for this cause, they look upon as their common father; and indeed to whom they have greater obligations than to their own parents; there appears little probability how the pillars of fuch a government should be easily shaken, whose basis is founded on the interest of so great a part of the nation, to defend it with the utmost peril of their lives and blood. Nor have we more reason to accuse our ancestors of impiety . . .

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ety or injustice, than imprudence, fince heretofore great and ample were the public revenues, that a ounger fon could, either in church or state, by the ings of his own industry or merits, have raised him-If to as high a pitch of honour and fairer fortunes, an those of his elder brother's birth-right; fo that be the first-born was scarce a privilege, except to ch as wanted worth to advance them; wherefore, hile the Church and Court were open with their rge train of preferments, to entertain the more inmious of the gentry's younger fons, and monasteries entomb those of a less mercurial genius, there was the reason for commencing this complaint; for this am compelled by the violence of truth to confess, defence of the ancient constitution of the laws and overnment of this nation, that whatever their other ults, they were not injurious to younger brethren, Il after the fale of church-lands, and the abrogating of many preferments that were their former inhetance.

This was the former state of the nation, in which, younger fons were debarred a share in their fathers heritance, they might receive an ample compenfaon from the Church their mother, whose jointure as no less than two thirds of the whole land; so that ey might feem rather owned as the only children of e Commonwealth, and honourably maintained at the public charge thereof, than difinherited by the akindness of the laws. A generous education was ten a fufficient portion, which is now, for want of a litable employment, become a curse instead of a elling, ferving to no other end, than to discover, if ot augment their misery; so much is the scene of ings changed fince Henry VIII. spoiled the church f her revenues, and by consequence these of the irest part of their inheritance; and yet nothing of he rigour of the ancient laws are herein abated toards them. It is not my intention (God knows my eart) to speak a word in approbation of those superstitious

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flitious uses to which any abbey or bishops lands were heretofore employed, but with reflection on those good and pious, to which (in the opinion of some

they might have been converted.

Nor is it the defign of these discourses to retire ecclefiaftical promotions, or demonstrate a necessity rebuilding the things we have so lately destroyed but rather to flew, how unfafe and injurious it would be to establish and fix a Commonwealth upon the ruins and tottering foundation of a decayed monarchy nor do I blame the prudence of our late reformen that unhorseing the pride of the clergy, and puting down the hierarchy, they rather fold, than referred a public flock, the revenues of the church, by real it may feem more fafe for a Commonwealth to kee nothing that may encourage an invation of its liberty or become the reward of afurpation and tyranny only I could wish, that fince the reason and circum flances of our laws are quite altered, we might me still build on old foundations, and entail the whole land on a few proprietors or elder brethren, to the exclusion and utter ruin of the greatest part of the nation, and contrary to the interest of a free state of Commonwealth: I dare not charge all our late changes and many turnings in the balance of affair on this account, though I cannot but observe, that our times have rung more changes, been tunted to more different instruments, and ran through more fe veral forms of government, than were from the time of the Norman Conquest known before, to which how much the discontent and poverty of our gently may have contributed, I know not; but Solomon faith, Oppression will make a wife man mad. I am int the Younger Brothers are by far the greater number; and through nature's courtefy, commonly as rich in intellectual endowments, as poor in fortunes, and being by the tyranny (as affairs now fland) of Law and Custom, debarred sharing in their parents estates, to which they conceive nature equally entitles them with their

ir Elder Brethren; it is no wonder if they defire to errupt the peace and tranquillity of the Commonwealth, ce by the shakings thereof, they may probably root mselves in fairer fortunes, than from its peace and tlement, they may with reason expect; and that ich arms their discontent with fit weapons for renge, and renders them more formidable, is their perous education; for certainly, it is of very une and dangerous consequence, to qualify such for eat and noble undertakings, that are heirs to no her fortunes than what their valours can purchase th the ruin of the Commonwealth's peace and gomment. Therefore, had those that made the pubrevenues a prey to their ambition, also drunk up ofe streams of bounty, by which the schools and iverfities are fed and maintained, and fo taken ray the means as well as the encouragement of liral education, they had better confulted the peace, ough not the honour of the nation; for fo long as ese are open (if not better ordered), I doubt there Ill be vipers hatched to eat through the womb of wernment, by which they conceive themselves inred and debarred, both that which nature gives them. le to of their parents, and the ancient constitution the Commonwealth in public revenues, which I ould not have understood as proceeding from any ejudice or ill will to the univerfities, which I much onour, and in which, with thankfulness I acknowdge, to have received my education, but only to scover the shortness of that policy, that taking away te preferments, should reward and crown all acadeic endeavours, yet never reduced the means whereby, en are qualified for an expectation, and prompted o an ambition of them; and, indeed, of a like strain. most of our modern policy, not skin deep, and raher to be accounted shifts and prefent evalions of mpendent evils, than antidotes of folid prudence, for ither the obviating, or healing any difaster or maady in the body politic. Certainly,

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Certainly, a generous education is not proper to fuch as are intended for little less than slaves. It ignorance is the mother of obedience, whereas know ledge makes men proud and factious, especially whe they conceive their fortunes and employments are no correspondent to the grandeur of their birth and education.

The younger fon is apt to think himself spronger from as noble a stock, from the loins of as good gentleman as his elder brother, and therefore cannot but wonder, why fortune and the law should make to great a difference between them that lay in the same womb, that are formed of the same lump; why law or custom should deny them an estate, whom nature hath given discretion to know how to manage it.

Learning ennobles and elevates the foul, caufing to despise and set light by small and base things; an therefore, where that flourishes, men are not easily taught to fubmit their necks to an iron voke flavery; which prompts the Turkish prudence to ex tinguish all such lights by which men gain a prospe or discovery of the thraldom and misery of the condition. It would drink more ink, and waste more time than I, or perhaps the reader, would willing bestow, to give an account of all the mischies an inconveniences that proceed from the fertile womb this fingle mistake, that a generous education (not withstanding the abolition of all encouragements of learning and ingenious preferments) is a fufficient por tion for a Younger Brother. Wisdom is good wit an inheritance, but the wisdom of the poor man despised. The muses without a dowry are but del picable virgins, and the unnatural, though usual di vorce, that is at this day found between wit and mo ney, renders both useless, if not pernicious to the Commonwealth. I doubt not, but should we take view of things through the prospective of some men observations, we should discover this in part th cause of that tranquillity and settlement, peace an prosperity osperity, with which in former times this British was crowned; as also of those many shakings and evulsions in which these latter ages have seen her into: and can we expect it should be otherwise? en (as Solomon hath observed) There is not bread to wise, nor riches to men of understanding, nor yet farm to men of skill, Sc. which seems to proceed from other cause than the iniquity of our laws, pouring the wealth into one channel, and conveying the ole land into the hands of a few Proprietors or er Brethren.

I confess, those providence hath placed on high, on battlements of supreme power, may, if their eyes open, and not blinded by private interest, commad a fairer prospect, and discern farther into these ings, then such whom a meaner fortune hath lest in valley of a low and private condition; therefore, I all not presume to inform those intelligences that turn out the orbs of government; only could wish, are were such a scene of things brought forth, as ay give encouragement to expect a settlement, with-

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To which, as things now stand, I cannot persuade yelf, but that the establishing of gavel kind, would reno small tendency; for can any thing be done prefuitable to a Commonwealth? or is there any ing more just and equitable, than that all the chilen should share in their Parents inheritances? or ined is there not rather an absolute necessity thereof, ce all the former avenues by which men had acis to preferment are hedged up? is not the only for at present open to a fortune, that of the law? hich is also now, together with all other professions, overstocked with students, and thereby become so Idensome, that the Nation will no longer endure For are they not necessitated to devise daily new urks and fubtleties, whereby fuits may be multiled, to the confusion of estates, and oppression of e people. How much more honourable would it be No. XIV. to

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to our reformation, and new established government that there were a more equal and righteous distribution of the things of this earth, than that the greater part of the nation should be put to shift and scramble for a livelihood, or be necessitated to live on the single-

of the people.

Why estates may not, for the future, descend regularly to the whole offspring that are of the fame blood and family, instead of one branch thereof, know no inconvenience in that, especially in those circumstances we are in at present, being fallen into an age so eagle-eyed and quick-fighted, as to discen spots on the sun, and discover corruption in the heavens; which the duller opticks of antiquity judgedim maculate, and as altogether incorruptible: an age that dares pry into the pious frauds, and unmask the most religious deceits, which the devouter ignorance of our ancestors never beheld, but at a superstitions and reverential distance; an age, in which the art of living, or to gain an honest subsistance, is grown to fubtle, so difficult and abstruse a mystery, that sew are able to mafter it.

How many ingenious gentlemen, that are now clothed with rags and misery, might have raised themselves to fair estates, had they had a stock wherewith to set their industry on work; for can any man make brick wherewith to build themselves a fortune without any straw? How many might this have reprieved from an untimely death, who might have been useful to their country, and ornaments to the Commonwealth, had their parts and ingenuities found due encouragements? How many brave sparkling wits, that might have proved bright stars and shining lamps both in Church and Commonwealth, have been extinguished in obscurity, for want of maintenance, the oil whereby their lamps should have been fed and nourished.

Were it not far more just to restrain marriage, or at least give check, and set bounds to the lust of parents, by

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finting the number of their offspring to a child two, and fealing up the fertile womb, than thus turn at bleffing of god, increase and multiply, into the eatest curse, and visit the iniquity of the parents upon echildren? Or, were it not a greater act of charity, cording to the example of the Heathen, to expose drown these latter births, as we do such supernumery dogs &c. as would otherwise over-stock our comons, than thus expose them like fo many little ofeses in arks of bulrushes to a sea of poverty and ifery, from whence they may never expect reprieve, les some miraculous providence (like Pharo's ughters) chance to rescue and receive them into her ort and favour? Our law making no more profion for Younger Brethren than if they were to be oathed like the lillies of the field, or like Elias, to pect their food from ravens, receiving no other infort from the hands of men, than what they can ck from the dry breafts of an old proverb, that God ill fend meat wherefoever he hath provided mouths, an which nothing more true, did not the covetousis of men withhold it.

It was the custom of our gentry and nobility to apfuch of their phlegmatic offspring, as nature had It made mercurial enough to ambiate either church court preferments into some religious habit; and keep up the splendour of their families, by prungaway fuch under-branches for the service of the ar, as either, through their number or folly were te to let in poverty, and thereby become a dispagement to the noble stock from whence they sprang, hich hath prompted some to an opinion, that if in ele more populous northern climates, a kind of Profant monasteries were erected for encouragement of aftity and fingle life, especially among the poorer tt, it would (pardoning the folecism of the name) more confonant to the maxims of state and true poy, than in those hotter and more barren climates, here there is so little danger of being over-stocked

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or burdened with people, that on the contrary the want men for the necessary defence of their territories of which we have a pertinent instance in Spain, who religious houses (did not their blind devotion so much triumph over their policy) had long fince been burn under their own ruins; for there can no other account be given, why that wife and prudent nation labour under fo great a weight of affairs, and scarcity of me to manage their wars, should tolerate so many him of drones; which fo long as they shall continue, in give good caution and fecurity to its neighbourn states and princes, to lay asleep their fears and it loufies of his ever attaining that universal monarch at which, for fo many centuries, the lips of his pro ambition have been thought to water: there being little probability that his palfey hands should gra the universe, that hath not strength enough to ho that little part thereof he hath already fastened or and therefore the Spanish conquests may not unit be compared to those of rivers upon the banks their channels, lofing as much in one place as the gain in others?

But fince Providence hath been pleased in mercy bring back our captivity, and again to cast us into t advantagious form of a Commonwealth, if gavel-kin were once established, we shall stand in need of other devices for keeping out of poverty, than to fetting industry on work according to the opport nities, plentiful occasions will administer in an equ Commonwealth. But I shall now return to the lawyers, from whom I have made fo long a digre fion. I have read, that in the more pure and less s phisticated times of our ancestors, great estates ha been passed in few words, and the conveyance prove more firm and good, than those tedious, prolix, ta tological instruments, the knavery of latter ages ha introduced.

In fign that this is footh

I bite the white wax with my tooth.

the like being the form of those more simple d fincere times; whereas now, through the fraud lawyers, all things are fo ambiguously penned, that ne but a fphinx in their mysteries is able to under-

nd or unriddle them.

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The professors of which mystery of iniquity that reupon the fins of the people, are of late grown fo merous, that like locusts, or an Egyptian plague, ev cover the face of our land, and are thriven to ch vast estates, that whereas heretofore the Church d Clergy being in possession of two thirds, of the fl lands throughout the realm, gave birth to the state of Mortmain for fecurity of the rest: we may fly fear, unless some prudent care be taken for prention of their future purchases, lest this pack, &c. their quirks, &c. instate themselves in our inritances, and ingross the wealth and revenues of the

hole nation unto themselves, &c.

I have heard this subtle generation were not in so ir a plight, when every term they beat upon the of to London, with their fatchels on their backs, and the towns end proffered their fervices, like wateren at the Thames fide, to be retained by the couny clients; and I know not whether we may ever extha golden age, or to see good days, till the interest this corrupt generation be laid as low as any hifnes can produce a precedent; which at this time of needs have the greatest countenance of justice at can be, they having been so notoriously instruental in betraying our liberties; and felling us into chands of tyranny, by which, together with their her iniquities, they have contracted fo great an hum in the hearts and eyes of all honest men, that I now not whether the hanging up of their gowns in estminster Hall might not be as acceptable a trohy in the eyes of the people, as the Scotch colours.

I have often wondered, that notwithstanding the reat mischief the nation hath suffered by the lawyers taning our laws and acts of parliaments, being known.

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to leave flaws, and always render them fo lame, they can, for their advantage, wrest them to what sense they please, and thereby make themselves the lords and absolute arbitrators both of our lives and fortunes; that for prevention of like future abuses they are not excluded the House of Commons as well as the Clergy, there being as much reason and more precedent for the one than the other, for that the Judges never had a vote in the House of Peers, but only sat upon the Wool-pack, whereas the Bishops had like privileges with the other Lords. It being very incongrueus in reason that they should be the makers of our laws who are the mercenary Interpreters, less bisssed by their own interests, instead of sences to our properue, they make them snares to our lives and estates.

But it is hoped, the prudence of our Senators will make fo thorough a reformation of the Laws, that a they are the birth-right and inheritance of every Englishman, and the interest of all persons to know and be intimately acquainted with them, so they shall be rendered fo facil and easy, that the meanest capacity may conceive them, at least fo far as he is concerned therein; that so there may be no longer any occasion of keeping up to corrupt an interest of men to make justice mercenary, who have been always found the panders of tyranny, and betrayers of our liberties; and that for the future, every man may be permitted to be his own orator and plead his own cause, or procure what friend they please to be their advocates; that right may be done gratis to every man, and the cry of the oppressed may no longer be heard in our gates; But that judgment may run down like a fream and righteousness like a mighty torrent in the midst of

I shall conclude with that honest defire of the inhabitants of Hull, of late presented to the Parliament; That the laws by which this Commonwealth is to be governed may be those holy, just and righteous laws of the great and wife God, our rightful lawgiver; and when

ny case is unprovided for in the express terms of his nord, care may be taken to determine it, with the most ract proportion that is possible thereto, that so our laws eing sounded on the Scriptures, and so composed, as ot only to have great affinity with, but also to borer on the very suburbs of divinity, the greater reerence and authority may be conciliated to each; and it may seem the less incongruous for our civil agistrates to be utrisque peritus, skilful in both.

Now whatfoever hath been here spoken out of a nost intensely heated zeal for public good, with reection on the abuses of the law, and the professors hereof, I would not have misconstrued to reslect upon heir persons, which I honour, and acknowledge many of them to be men of great candour and integrity, but ather of the corrupt interest of the profession, it eing the design of these discourses to witness only gainst interests, and not to revise or asperse the per-

ons of any whatfoever, &c.

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And, indeed, to speak my mind freely, the grand, from in the reformation of these times hath been its, reeding out of persons, when as the blow should have een levelled against the interests, which notwith-anding the frequent change of persons, still take oot, and spring up in as great vigour as before; and herefore I humbly conceive, till the ax be laid to the oot of every evil and corrupt interest, we may not spect to reap any great fruit or success by our re-ormation, for all sless is corruptible, and every man lie; nor is he that marches in the rear any better ble to resist the temptation, or avoid the snares of its place than he that sell before him.

They may comment on the Two following Advertisements that will for me.

In the Norfolk Chronicle of November 2, 1793, a reward of two hundred pounds is promised by his

his Majesty, for discovery of the writer or published of the following hand-bill, which was stuck up and distributed in and about Norwich.

" To all real Lovers of Liberty.

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" My Friends and Fellow Citizens,

" It is with the greatest joy I congratulate you on " the Defeat of the combined Tyrants .- Be affurd

" that Liberty and Freedom will at last prevail."

" Tremble O thou Oppressor of the People, that

" reigneth upon the Throne, and ye Ministers of " State weep, for ye shall fall. Weep, O ye Con.

" ductors of this vile and wicked War, ye who grind

" the Face of the Poor, oppress the People, and starve of the industrious Mechanic. My friends, you are

" oppressed—you know it.—Revenge it.

" Buckingham, who died the other day, had Thiny

" Thousand Pounds yearly, for setting his Arse in the

" House of Lords, and doing nothing. Think of " this, ye who work hard, and have hardly a crust to

or put in your Mouths, think how many Wretches it

would have made happy. In short, my Friends,

" Liberty calls aloud, ye who will hear her Voice,

" may you be free and happy. He who does not,

" let him starve and be damned.

" Sunday, Sept. 14. " N. B. Be resolute, and you shall be happy; he

who wishes well to the Cause of Liberty, let him

" repair to Chapel Fields at Five o'Clock,

" This Afternoon,

" to begin a glorious Revolution."

ADVERTISEMENT VERBATIM,

From the Morning Chronicle of Now. 15, 1793.

FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS.

The above fum will be given as A COMPLIMENT to any LADY or Gentleman, who has interest to pro-Cate Gentleman of an active disposition, between 40 and co, of the strictest honour and integrity, who will have no objection to a few hours attendance every day in London, BY WAY OF AMUSEMENT. The emolument thereof must be equal to the gratuity. As the bove sum is ready at a day's notice, none but principals will be treated with, and the most inviolable secresy will be observed, if required. A line for B. A. Will's Cossee-house, Cornhill, will be attended to.

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NATIONAL FASTING GENERALLY INSI-DIOUS AND IMPIOUS.

From Fast-Day Sermons, by the Rev. J. Murray, of Newcastle, Author of Sermons to Asses. Printed in the Year 1781.

ISAIAH, 58, 4, 6. Behold, ye fast for Strife and Debate, and to smite with the fift of Wickedness.—Is not this the Fast that I have chosen? to loose the Bands of Wickedness; to undo the heavy Burdéns, and to let the Oppressed go free, and that ye break every Yoke.

A CCORDING to the stile of Revelation, all unjust and arbitrary decrees are bands of wickedmess, by whatsoever human authority they are imposed,
because they are contrary to moral justice, and are
oppressive to the people. And though they can never
bind the consciences of men, and so have no moral
insuence, yet they are cords of oppression, that sit hard
upon their bodies and their temporal interest. Laws
that are unfriendly to the temporal interest, and general good of society; laws that are made to exalt a
few to power and dignity, by spunging, squeezing,
and oppressing all other ranks of people, though contrived

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trived by angels, and executed by faints, are band of wickedness, which may cause people to suffer for transgressing, but can never create sin in disober.

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When the Rulers of a Nation, to gratify their om lufts of pride and ambition, impose heavy and oppress -five burdens upon the people by legislative authoring they establish iniquity by a law, which in the strict The lusts of Sense of the words, is a band of iniquity. princes and their fervants, often create their om wants, and render them necessitous; they then make use of their power and influence to procure laws to oblige others to supply them, whether they are able or not; and what aggravates the evil, when the fin jects know and feel that they are not able to answer the heavy demands of power, they are not allowed to be judges of their own abilities. Those that rule over others ought to be fober and temperate, and make the reasonable finances of state serve them in executing their offices. Unnecessary splendor and expence in government are inconfishent with both reafon and religion, which teach us, that it is one of the great ends of laws and government to restrain unruly appetites and passions. It is finful in princes to com expensive offices to ferve their favourites, and oppress their subjects. Nothing can be more audacious, than for men appointed to be guardians of fociety, with a defign to make individuals easy and happy, to pretend to come before the Lord, in the most solemn manner, to ask his aid and affistance to oppress them. Such a undoubtedly the language of the enfuing Fast, and of the conduct of its authors and devisers.

The poor, in all parts of Britain, are groaning under a heavy load of taxes, devised for new purposes, and imposed by new statutes. But for what reasons? Where is the necessity? What way are they applied? Are they not intended to carry violence and desolation, fire and sword, among a people, whose only fault is, that they are endowed with principles, and a spirit

rit which Englishmen once gloried in, and which ed this nation from poverty and arbitrary power, will not part with what God and nature, and the s have given them, to gratify the lusts of men who e degenerated from the noble generous temper of ir ancestors, into Eastern nabobs, and Turkish These men have thought fit to contrive haws. r, foreign and domeflic, to gratify their depraved lions, and the rich and poor throughout the nation ft be oppressed to carry it on; bands of wickeds are twifted one year after another, and the nation ans in chains. All the necessaries of life are in ne way or other taxed; our smoke cannot ascend he sky, nor a ray of light peep in at our windows, hout paying an heavy impost. The infide, as well he outside of our houses, are affested; and poor ple, who cannot, without great difficulty, afford to five pounds for a house to lodge in through the r, must now pay five fixpences more. And for at reason? to carry on a war that originated in inice, has been carried on with folly, and attended h disgrace and disappointment.—To shed-innocent od, and carry death and desolation across the Atic to destroy our brethren, to fatiate the voracious s of a few ambitious men, who would waste the be, and ruin Heaven itself, provided they had the pagement thereof. Ah, Britain! will the God of cy, who delights in forgiving offences, hear your yers, or regard your fastings, when you are twistcords of oppression, instead of loosing bands of Ah, ye Rulers of the Land, whither kedness. ye hastening? you cannot run long when you are ling upon the boffes of Jehovah's buckler! When fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist wickedness, do you imagine that the God of Mercy hear your prayers with acceptance, or regard fasting, any otherwise than setting them down he fum total of your past iniquities.

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By Mr. ERSKINE, in his Speech on the Trial of THOMAS PAINE.

From Gurney's Edition of the faid Trial.

VERY man, not intending to mislead and to Confound, but feeking to enlighten others with what his own reason and conscience, however em neously, dictate to him as truth, may address himself to the universal reason of a whole nation, either upon the subject of governments in general, or upon that of our own particular country: he may analyse the principles of its constitution, point out its errors and defects, examine and publish its corruptions, wan his fellow-citizens against their ruinous consequences and exert his whole faculties, in pointing out the mot advantageous changes in establishments, which he confiders to be radically defective, or fliding from their object by abuse. All this every subject of this country has a right to do, if he contemplates only what he thinks its happiness, and but seeks to change the public mind by the conviction which flows from reasonings dictated by conscience.

If, indeed, he writes what he does not think; if contemplating the mifery of others, he wickedly condemns what his own understanding approves; of even admitting his real disgust against the government, or its corruptions; if he calumniates living magistrates; or holds out to individuals, that they have a right to run before the public mind in their conduct; that they may oppose by contumacy or force what private reason only disapproves; that they may disobey the law, because their judgment condemn it; or resist the public will, because they hones, with to change it; he is then a criminal upon every principle of rational policy, as well as upon the immemorial

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emorial precedents of English justice; because such person seeks to disunite individuals from their duty the whole, and excites to overt acts of misconduct a part of the community, instead of endeavouring change, by the impulse of reason, the universal tent which, in this and in every country, constitutes elaw for all.

Gentlemen, I say, in the name of Thomas Paine, d in his words as author of the Rights of Man, as hitten in the very volume that is charged with seek-

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"The end of all political affociations is, The prefervation of the Rights of Man, which rights are Liberty, Property, and Security; that the nation is the fource of all fovereignty derived from it: the right of property being fecured and inviolable, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity, legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity."

These are undoubtedly the rights of man—the this for which all governments are established—and conly rights Mr. Paine contends for; but which thinks (no matter whether right or wrong) are tter to be fecured by a republican constitution than the forms of the English government. He inucts me to admit, that, when government is once assituted, no individuals, without rebellion, can thdraw their obedience from it—that all attempts excite them to it are highly criminal, for the of obvious reasons of policy and justice—that noing short of the Will of a whole people can change effect the rule by which a nation is to be governed and that no private opinion, however honefuly inicable to the forms or substance of the law, can flify resistance to its authority, while it remains in rce. The author of the Rights of Man not only mits the truth of all this doctrine, but he confents be convicted, and I also consent for him, unless his ork shall be found studiously and painfully to in-No. XV. culcate

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culcate these great principles of government, whichit is charged to have been written to destroy. Let me, not, therefore, be suspected to be contending, that it is lawful to write a book pointing out defects in the English government, and exciting individuals to destroy its fanctions, and to refuse obedience. But, on the other hand, I do contend, that it is lawful to address the English nation on these momentous subjects, for had it not been for this unalienable right (thanks be to God and our fathers for establishing it), how should we have had this Constitution which we for loudly boast of? If, in the march of the human mind, no man could have gone before the establishments of the time he lived in, how could our establishment, by reiterated changes, have become what it is? If no man could have awakened the public mind to erron and abuses in our government, how could it have passed on from stage to stage, through reformation and revolution, so as to have arrived from barbarism to fuch a pitch of happiness and perfection, that the Attorney General considers it as profanation to touch it any further, or to look for any future amendment.

In this manner power has reasoned in every age—Government, in its own estimation, has been at all times a system of perfection; but a free press has examined and detected its errors, and the people have happily reformed them: this freedom has alone made our government what it is, and alone can preserve it; and therefore, under the banners of that freedom, to day I stand up to defend Thomas Paine. But how, alas! shall this task be accomplished? How may lexpect from you what human nature has not made man for the performance of? How may I address your reasons, or ask them to pause, amidst the torrent of prejudice which has hurried away the public mind

on the fubject you are to judge?

Was any Englishman ever so brought as a criminal before an English Court of Justice?—If I were to ake you, Gentlemen of the Jury, what is the choices fruit

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ruit that grows upon the tree of English Liberty, you vould answer, SECURITY UNDER THE LAW. vere to ask the whole people of England, the return hey looked for at the hands of Government, for the urdens under which they bend to support it, I should till be answered, SECURITY UNDER THE LAW; or, nother words, an impartial administration of justice. ofacred, therefore, has the Freedom of Trial been verheld in England; fo anxiously does justice guard gainst every possible bias in her path, that if the pubc mind has been locally agitated upon any subject njudgment, the forum is either changed or the trial The circulation of any paper that brings, oftponed. r which can be supposed to bring, prejudice, or even rell-founded knowledge, within the reach of a Bri-In tribunal, on the four of an occasion, is not only ighly criminal, but defeats itself, by leading to put If the trial which its object was to pervert. On his principle, his Lordship will permit me to remind im, that on the trial of the Dean of St. Afaph, for libel, or rather, when he was brought to trial, the irculation of books by a fociety favourable to his efence, was held by the noble Lord, as Chief Justice Chester, to be a reason for not trying the cause; though they contained no matter relative to the Dean, nor to the object of his trial; being only exacts from ancient authors of high reputation, on the eneral Rights of Juries to confider the innocence as rell as the guilt of the accused; yet still, as the reollection of these rights was pressed forward, with a iew to effect the proceedings, to guard the principle te proceedings were postponed.

Is the Defendant then to be the only exception to be admirable provisions? Is the English law to adge him, stript of the armour with which its uniteral justice encircles all others? Shall we, in the ery act of judging him for detracting from the Enlish government, furnish him with ample matter for all reprobation, instead of detraction? Has not his

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cause been prejudged through a thousand channels Has not the work before you been daily publicly n. vived, and his person held up to derision and no proach? Has not the public mind been excited, by crying down the very phrase and idea of the Right of Man? Nay, have not affociations of gentlemen I speak it with regret, because I am persuaded, from what I know of fome of them, that they, among them at least, thought they were ferving the public yet have they not, in utter contempt and ignorance of that Constitution of which they declare themselve to be the guardians, published the grossest attack upon the Defendant? Have they not, even while the cause has been standing here in the paper for in mediate trial, published a direct protest against the very work now before you; advertifing in the fam paper, though under the general description of & ditious papers, a reward on the conviction of any person who should dare to sell the book itself, it which their own publication was an answer?-The Attorney General has spoken of a forced circulation of this Work; but how have these prejudging paper been circulated? We all know how: they have been thrown into our carriages in every freet; the have met us at every turnpike; and they lie in the areas of all our houses. To complete the triumph of prejudice, that High Tribunal, of which I have the honour to be a member (my learned friends know what I fay to be true), has been drawn into this vot tex of flander; and some of its members, for la not speak of the House itself, have thrown the weight of their stations into the same scale.

By all means I maintain that this cause has been

prejudged.

It may be said, that I have made no motion to put off the trial for these causes, and that courts of themselves take no cognizance of what passes else where, without sacts laid before them. Gentlemen I know that I should have had equal justice from that quarter FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE: 173

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parter, if I had brought myfelf within the rule. But hen should I have been better in the present aspect things? And therefore I only remind you of all efe hardships, that you may recollect that your judgent is to proceed upon that alone which meets you re, upon the evidence in the cause, and not upon ggestions destructive of every principle of justice. Having disposed of these foreign prejudices, I ope you will as little regard fome arguments that ve been offered to you in court. The letter which s been fo repeatedly pressed upon you, you ought dismiss even from your recollection; I have already tit out of the question, as having been written long blequent to the Book, and as being a libel on the ing, which no part of the information charges, and hich may hereafter be profecuted as a distinct offence. confider that letter besides, and indeed have always ard it treated, as a forgery, contrived to injure e merits of the cause, and to embarrass me persony in its defence. I have a right fo to confider it, cause it is unsupported by any thing similar at an flier period. The Defendant's whole deportment, evious to the publication, has been wholly unexcephable; he properly defired to be given up as the thor of the Book, if any enquiry should take place ncerning it; and he is not affected in evidence. reftly or indirectly, with any illegal or suspicious nduct; not even with having uttered an indifcreet taunting expression, nor with any one matter or ing, inconsistent with the duty of the best subject England. His opinions indeed were not adverse our lystem; but I maintain that OPINION is free, d that conduct alone is amenable to the law. You are next to judge of the author's mind and ention, by the modes and extent of the circuon of his work. The First Part of the Rights of in, Mr. Attorney General tells you, he did not osecute, although it was in circulation through the untry for a year and a half together, because it

feems it circulated only amongst what he stiles the judcious part of the public, who possessed in their cape. cities and experience an antidote to the poison; bu that with regard to the Second Part now before you its circulation had been forced into every corner of fociety; had been printed and reprinted for cheapage even upon whited brown paper, and had crept into the very nurseries of children, as a wrapper for the weetmeats.

In answer to this statement, which after all stand only upon Mr Attorney General's own affertion, un supported by any kind of proof (no witness having proved the author's personal interference with the fale, I still maintain, that if he had the most and oully promoted it, the question would remain exactly the same: the question would still be, whether at the time when Paine composed his work, and promoted the most extensive purchase of it, he believed or disbelieved what he had written, and whether he contemplated the happiness or the misery of the English nation, to which it is addressed; and which ever of these intentions may be evidenced to your judgment upon reading the Book itself, I confess I am utterly at a loss to comprehend how a writer can be supposed to mean fomething different from what he has written by an axiety (common I belive to all authors) that his work should be generally read.

Remember, I am not asking your opinions of the dostrines themselves, you know them already pretty visibly fince I began to address you; but I shall ap peal not only to you, but to those who, without our leave, will hereafter judge without appeal of all that we are doing to day; whether, upon the matter which I hasten to lay before you, you can refuse in justice to pronounce, that from his education-from the accidents and habits of his life-from the time and occasion of the publication-from the circumstances attending it—and from every line and letter of the work itsfelf, and all his other writings before and even fince, his conscience and understanding m

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emply impressed with the matters contained in his sok,—that he addressed it to the reason of the natiat large, and not to the passions of individuals, and at in the issue of its instruence, he contemplated only nat appeared to him (though it may not to us) to be interest and happiness of England, and of the sole human race. In drawing the one or the other these conclusions, the Book stands sirst in order, dit shall now speak for itself.

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Gentlemen, the whole of it is in evidence before u, the particular parts arraigned having only been d by my confent, upon the prefumption that on iring from the court, you would carefully comthem with the context, and all the parts with whole viewed together. You cannot indeed do fice without it. The most common letter, even in eordinary course of business, cannot be read in a use to prove an obligation for twenty shillings witht the whole being read, that the writer's meaning ay be seen without deception. But in a criminal arge of only four pages and a half, out of a work maining nearly two hundred, you cannot, with en the appearance of common justice, pronounce a dgment without the most deliberate and cautious mparison. I observe, that the noble and learned dge confirms me in this observation. But if any ven part of a work be legally explanatory, of every her part of it, the preface, a fortion, is the most matial; because the preface is the author's own key to writing: it is there that he takes the reader by e hand, and introduces him to his subject: it is ere that the spirit and intention of the whole is laid fore him by way of prologue. A preface is meant the author as a clue to ignorant or careless readers: e author fays by it, to every man who chooses to gin where he ought—look at my plan—attend to y distinctions—mark the purpose and limitations of e matter I lay before you.

(To be continued.)

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THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF FRANCE

As accepied by the Nation on the 1 oth of August, 1793.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

THE French people, convinced that forgetfulnels of, and contempt for, the natural rights of man, are the only causes of the crimes and misfortunes of the world, have refoved to expose, in a Declaration, their facred and inalienable rights, in order that all Citizens, being always able to compare the acts of the government with the end of every focial inflintion, may never fuffer themselves to be oppressed and degraded by tyranny; and that the people may always have before their eyes the basis of their liberty. and happiness; the magistrates the rule of their duty, and legislators the object of their mission-

They acknowledge therefore and proclaim, in the presence of the Supreme Being, the following Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens:-

ARTICLE I. The end of fociety is common happinels. Government is instituted to secure to man the enjoyment of his natural and imprescriptible rights.

·II. These rights are Equality, Liberty, Safety,

and Property.

III. All men are equal by nature, and before the law.

The Law is the free and folemn expression IV. of the general will. It ought to be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. It cannot order but what is just and useful to Society. It cannot forbid but what is hurtful.

V. All Citizens are equally admissible to public employments. Free people know no other motives of preference in their elections, than virtue and talents.

VI. Liberty

VI. Liberty is that power which belongs to a an, of doing every thing that does not hurt the ghts of another: Its principle is nature: Its rule slice: Its protection the law: And its moral limits e defined by this maxim, "Do not to another what

ou would not wish done to yourfelf."

VII. The rights of manifesting one's thoughts nd opinions, either by the press, or in any other anner; the right of affembling peaceably, and the ee exercise of religious worship cannot be forbiden. The necessity of announcing these rights, suposes either the presence, or the recent remembrance f despotism.

VIII. Whatever is not forbidden by the law canot be prevented. No one can be forced to do that,

hich it does not order.

IX. Safety confids in the protection granted by e Society to each Citizen for the preservation of his erson, his rights, and his property.

X. The Law avenges public and individual lierty of the abuses committed against them by

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XI. No person can be accused, arrested or conned, but in cases determined by the law, and acording to the forms which it prescribes. Every itizen fummoned or feized by the authority of the w, ought immediately to obey; he renders himself alpable by refistance.

XII. Every act exercised against a man to which he cases in the law do not apply, and in which its rms are not observed, is arbitrary and tyrannical. espect for the law forbids him to submit to such, cts; and if attempts are made to execute them by

solence, he has a right to repel force by force.

XIII. Those who shall solicit, dispatch, sign, exeute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary acts, are culable, and ought to be punished.

XIV. Every man being supposed innocent until e has been declared guilty, if it is judged indispen-

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fible to arrest him, all severity not necessary to seast his person ought to be strictly repressed by the law.

XV. No one ought to be tried and punished and he has been legally summoned, and in virtue of a law published previous to the commission of the crime. A law which should punish crimes committed before it existed would be tyranzical. The re-troactive effect given to a law would be a crime.

XVI. The law ought not to decree any punishments but such as are strictly and evidently necessary—punishment ought to be proportioned to the crim

and useful to society.

XVII. The right of property is that right which belongs to every Citizen to enjoy and dispose of a cording to his pleasure, his property, revenues, labor and industry.

XVIII. No kind of labour, culture, or commen, can be forbidden to the industrious Citizen.

XIX. Every man may engage his fervices and his time, but he cannot fell himself—his person is no alienable property. The law does not acknowled fervitude—there can exist only an engagement care and gratitude between the man who labours, as the man who employs him.

XX. No one can be deprived of the smallest portion of his property, without his consent, except when the public necessity, legally ascertained, endently require it, and on condition of a just and pro-

vious indemnification.

XXI. No contribution can be established, but so general utility, and to relieve the public wants. Even Citizen has a right to concur in the establishment of contributions, to watch over the use made of them and to call for a statement of expenditure.

XXII. Public aids are a facred debt. The 80 ciety is obliged to provide for the subsistence of the unfortunate, either by procuring them work, or by securing the means of existence to those who are un-

able to labour.

XXIII. Infruction

XIII. Instruction is the want of all, and the ety ought to favour, with all its power, the prosof public reason; and to place instruction within reach of every Citizen.

XIV. The focial guarantee confifts in the acs of all, to fecure to each the enjoyment and preation of his rights. This guarantee rests on the

onal Sovereignty.

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XV. The focial guarantee cannot exist, if the is of public functions are not clearly determined the law, and if the responsibility of all public tionaries is not secured.

XVI. The Sovereignty resides in the people: it e and indivisible, imprescriptible and inalienable.

XVII. No proportion of the people can exerthe power of the whole: but each Section of the reign affembled ought to enjoy the right of exing its will in perfect liberty. Every individual arrogates to himself the Sovereignty, or who ps the exercise of it, ought to be put to death by men.

XVIII. A people have always the right of reg, amending, and changing their Constitution. generation cannot subject to its law future generations.

XIX. Every Citizen has an equal right of coning in the formation of the law, and in the notion of his mandatories or agents.

XX. Public functions cannot be confidered as

nctions or rewards, but as duties.

XXI. Crimes committed by the mandatories of cople and their agents, ought never to remain missed. No one has a right to pretend to be inviolable than other Citizens.

XXII. The right of presenting petitions to the stories of public authority belongs to every indial. The exercise of this right cannot, in any be forbidden, suspended, or limited.

XXIII. Resistance to oppression is the conse-

ce of the other rights of man.

XXXIV. Oppression

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XXXIV. Oppression is exercised against the scial body, when even one of its members is oppressed. Oppression is exercised against each member, when the social body is oppressed.

XXXV. When the government violates the right of the people, infurrection becomes to the people and to every portion of the people, the most faced and the most indispensible of duties.

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH INJUSTICE TO THE FRENCH

WHEN exulting we tell how our fathers of you Their wrongs and oppressions were wont a redress,

How firmly they waded through rivers of gore, And forc'd from proud despots those rights w posses;

When we boast of our own revolution and laws,
Yet reprobate men, who have spurn'd base control
We may shew an acquaintance with Liberty's cause,
But we strongly evince a contraction of soul.

We deem ourselves lodg'd under Liberty's tree, Where the whole human race might with comfor recline;

We boast of the blessing—and, Britons, shall we At the joyous approach of our neighbours repine! Forbid it—ye offspring of men who were tried, Of men, who unshackled both body and mind; Forbid it—and learn, ere ye dare to deride,

That the cause of the French is the cause of mankind

How can we, if our fires be entitled to praise, For boldly refisting unauthoriz'd sway, ow can we with aversion on Liberty gaze? How can we be offended if tyrants decay? s Jehovah selected a new-chosen race, And on them, and them only, his freedom bestow'd? not-how can Gallic refiftance be base, And the fate of a James shew the singer of God?

hen the orbs of the fightless receive the bright Day, Shall those who have vision presume to complain? all men fav'd from shipwreck with anguish furvey Their fellows preserv'd from the merciles main? ow degrading the thought !-- yet the fons of this Ifle, Who deem themselves nurtur'd at Liberty's board, ince a malignity equally vile,

In withing thy fhackles, O Gallia! restor'd.

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How

hen the will of a driv'ler held millions in chains, Did we pity them?—no—we despis'd them as slaves; nd now not a trace of debasement remains, We brand the brave people as maniacs and knaves! hus servile or free, we the French have revil'd, Our own half-form'd fystem we proudly commend; e boast our wise laws—though our code is defil'd With statutes, that tyrants would blush to defend.

lpurn the mean prejudice, Britons, and lay, If our fathers are right, how can Frenchmen be

wrong? he will of oppressors both scorn'd to obey, And afferted those rights that to mortals belong: et the struggles of these are to infamy hurl'd, While the actions of those we with triumph rehearle; at the bright orb of reason now peeps on the World, And the thick clouds of prejudice foon shall disperse:

es! foon shall these truths far and wide be convey'd, Spite of Pindar's poor prattle, and Burke's raving

hat the thrones of true kings by the PEOPLE are

And when kings become tyrants—submission is fin! No. XVI.

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That the power of oppressors can ne'er be of Heart A Being all-just—cannot justice despise:

A Being all-just—EQUAL RIGHTS must have given And who robs man of these must offend the All-

[ROMAN HISTORY, continued from Page 122]

AFTER the expulsion of the Tarquins, Rem was governed by two confuls, who held their the during the space of a year, at the conclusion of which new ones were chosen, by the senate and people After some time, the people found themselves to much oppressed by the patricians; who engrossed whole power of the state, and, by various extention fuch as lending them money at exorbitant interest and the like, had got possession of all their lands, as often seized their persons, imprisoned, or used the as flaves, (the laws permitting it in the case of the non-payment of their debts) in a barbarous manner Unable to bear this cruel treatment, a number them, at the infligation of Sisinnius Bellutus, m another Junius Brutus, took an opportunity, whenthe state had great need of their affistance, to defen the generals, and retired to a hill three miles from Rom In this exigence, a deputation was fent to them to the fenate, persuading them with many fair promite to return. At the head of this deputation were I Lartius, Menenius Agripah, and M. Valerius, a three in great esteem, and of whom two had governo the republic, and commanded her armies in quality When they were introduced to the of dictator. camp of the male-contents, and had given an account of their commission, Junius Brutus, perceiving hi comrades continued in profound silence, and that home of them attempted to make himself an advocate in th cause, stepped forward, and thus addressed them: er On

One would imagine, fellow-foldiers, by this p filence, that you are still awed by that servile r in which the patricians and your creditors have t you fo long. Every man consults the eyes of the , to discover whether there be more resolution in ers than he finds in himself; and not one of you has courage to speak in public that which is the cont subject of your private conversation. Do you not ow that you are free? This camp, these arms, do y not convince you that you are no longer under ants? And if you could still doubt it, would not s slep which the senate has taken be sufficient to sayou? Those patricians, so haughty and imious, now fend to court us; they no longer make of proud commands, or cruel threats, they ineus as their fellow-citizens to return into our comn city; nay, some of our sovereigns, you see, are racious as to come to our very camp, to offer us eneral pardon. Whence then can proceed this finate silence, after such singular condescensions? you doubt the fincerity of their promises; if you s, that under the veil of a few fine words, they nceal your former chains, why do ye not speak? clare your thoughts freely. Or, if you dare not in your mouths, at least hear a Roman, who has urage enough to fear nothing but the not speaking truth. [Then turning to Valerius] You invite to return to Rome, but you do not tell us upon at conditions: Can plebeians, poor, yet free, nk of being united with patricians, fo rich, and fo bitious? And even though we should agree to conditions you have to offer, what fecurity will patricians give us for the performance; those aghty patricians, who make it a merit among emselves to have deceived the people? You talk us of nothing but pardon and forgiveness, as if we re your subjects, and subjects in rebellion; but at is the point to be discussed. Is it the people or e senate who are in fault? Which of the two or-R 2: ders

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ders was it, that first violated the laws of society which ought to reign among the members of the fame republic? This is the question. In order to judge of this, without prejudice, give me least barely to relate a certain number of facts, for the truth of which I will appeal to no other but yourself and your colleague. Our flate was founded by king, and never was the Roman people more free, and more happy, than under their government. Tarquin himself, the last of those princes; Tarquin, so odiou to the senate and the nobility, favoured our interest as much as he opposed yours. Nevertheless, to avenge your wrongs, we drove that prince from Rome; we took arms against a sovereign who defended him felf only with the prayers he made to leave your in terests, and to return to his obedience. We afterward cut to pieces the armies of Veii and Tarquini which endeavoured to restore him to the throng The formidable power of Porfenna, the famine we underwent during a long fiege, the fierce affaults, the continual battles; were all thefe, or, in short, wa any thing capable of shaking the faith which we last given you? Thirty Latine cities united to reffor the Tarquines. What would you have done then, i we had abandoned you, and joined your enemies What rewards might we not have obtained of Tar quin, while the fenate and nobles would have been the victims of his refentment? Who was it that dil perfed this dangerous combination? To whom an you obliged for the defeat of the Latines? Is it no to this people? Is it not to them that you owe that very power which you have fince turned again them? What recompence have we had for the al fistance we lent you? Is the condition of the Roma people one jor the better ? Have you affociated then in your offices and dignities? Have our poor of tizens tound fo much as the smallest relief in the necessities? On the contrary, have not our brave foldiers, oppressed with the weight of usury, bee groaning

roaning in the chains of their merciless creditors That has come of all those vain promises of abolishng, in time of peace, the debts which the great had orced us to contract? Scarce was the war finished, ut you alike forgot our fervices, and your oaths. With what defigns then do you come hither? Why o you try to reduce this people by the enchantment fyour words? Are there any oaths for folemn as o bind your faith ? And, after all, what would you et by an union brought about by artifice, kept up with mutual distrust, and which, at last, must end in civil war? Let us, on both fides, avoid fuch heavy nisfortunes, let us not lose the happiness of our separaion; fuffer us to depart from a country where we are baded with chains, like so many slaves, and where, eing reduced to be only farmers of our own inheriances, we are forced to cultivate them for the profit four tyrants. So long as we have our fwords in our hands, we shall be able to open ourselves a way nto more fortunate climates; and, wherever the Gods shall grant us to live in liberty, there shall we ind our country."

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By this, and frequent struggles of this fort, which he people had made before, they at length attained he chablishment of the tribuneship, which consisted of two officers annually chosen out of the order of he plebeians, with authority to prevent the injustices hat might be done to the people, and to defend their interests both public and private. Rome, by this Mablishment, made a great advance towards a new hange in the form of her government. It had passed before from the monarchic state, to a state of aristocracy; for upon the expulsion of Tarquin, the whole authority did really and in fact devolve upon the fehate and the great: But now, by the creation of the ribunes, a democracy began to take place, and the people, by insensible degrees, and under different retences, got possession of the much greater share in he government. A famine which raged at Rome,

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foon after the establishment of this office, or casions great-complaints amongst the people; and large supply of corn being procured from Sicily, by the patricians, Coriolanus, a young senator, who had done great services to the state as a general, is for taking advantage of the people's distress, to get the tribuneship abolished, which he proposes in the senate. The tribunes and the people, enraged at this, determined to prosecute Coriolanus, and after much altercation, desire to be heard by the senate, in relation to their charge against him; when Decius, one of the tribunes, makes the sollowing speech:

"You know, Conscript Fathers, that having by our assistance, expelled Tarquin, and abolished the regal power, you established in the republic the some of government which is now observed in it, and of which we do not complain. But, neither can you be ignorant, that, in all the differences which any poor plebeian had afterwards with wealthy patricians, those plebeians constantly lost their causes, their adversaries being their judges, and all the tribunals being silled with patricians only. This abuse was what made Valerius Popsicola, that wise consul and excellent citizen, establish the law which granted an appeal to the people, from the decrees of the senate, and the

Such is the law called Valeria, which has alway been looked upon as the basis and foundation of the public liberty. It is to this law that we now sly so redress, if you refuse us the justice we demand upon a man, black with the greatest crime that it is possible to commit in a republic. It is not a single plebelar complaining, it is the whole body of the Roma people demanding the coudemnation of a tyrant, who would have destroyed his fellow citizens by samine has violated our magistracy, and forcibly repulsed our officers, and the ædiles of the commonwealth. Concelanus is the man we accuse of having proposed the abolition

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olition of the tribuneship, a magistracy made saed by the most folemn oaths. What need is there a senatus consultum to prosecute a criminal like this ? oes not every man know, that those particular dees of the fenate, are requifite only in unforeseen d extraordinary affairs, and for which the laws. we as yet made no provision? But, in the present fe, where the law is fo direct, where it expressly votes to the infernal gods those who infringe it, is not to become an accomplice in the crime to hefitate the least? Are you not apprehensive, that these ected delays, this obstruction you throw in the way our proceedings against this criminal, by the prended necessity of a previous decree of the senate, ill make the people inclined to believe that Corio-

nus only spoke the sentiments of you all?

"I know that feveral among you complain it was erely by violence we extorted your confent for the olition of the debts, and the establishment of the ibuneship. I will even suppose that, in the high gree of power to which you had raised yourselves, ter the expulsion of Tarquin, it was neither conmient nor honorable for you to yield up part of it favour of the people; but you have done it, and the whole fenate is bound by the most solemn oaths ever to undo it. After the establishment of those cred laws, which render the persons of the tribunes wiolable, will you, in compliance with the first ambious man that arises, attempt to revoke what makes te peace and security of the state? Certainly you ever will; and I dare answer for you, so long as I chold in this affembly those venerable magistrates ho had fo great a share in the treaty upon the mons uer. Ought you to suffer a matter like this to be so such as brought into deliberation? Coriolanus is he first who, by his seditious advice, has endeavoured break those facred bands, which, strengthened by he laws, unite the feveral orders of the state. shealone who is for destroying the tribunitian power,

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the people's affylum the bulwark of our liberty, a the pledge of our re-union. In order to force people's confent, in order to perpetrate one crime, attempted another much greater. He dares, even a holy place, and in the midst of the senate, propor to let the people die of hunger. Cruel and until ing man, at the same time! Did he not confiden that this people whom he meant to exterminate will fo much inhumanity, and who are more numero and powerful than he could wish, being reduced despair, would have broken into the houses, form open those granaries, and those cellars which concer fo much wealth, and would rather have fallen under the power of the patricians, or have totally room out that whole order?—Could he imagine, that a enraged populace would have hearkened to any law but what was dictated by necessity and resentment!

" For, that you may not be unacquainted will the truth, we would not have perished by a faming brought upon us by our enemies: but, having called to witness the gods, revengers of injustice, we would have filled Rome with blood and flaughter. Su had been the fatal confequences of the countered that perfidious citizen, if some senators, who ha more love for their country, had not hindered then from taking effect. It is to you, Confcript Fathers that we address our just complaints. It is to your aid and to the wisdom of your decrees, that we have to course, to oblige this public enemy to appear before the whole Roman people, and answer for his pents cious counsels. It is there, Coriolanus, that thou must defend thy former sentiments, if thou darest to to do, or excuse them from proceeding from want of thought. Take my advice; leave thy haughty and tyrannical maxims; make thyself less; hecome like us; nay, put on a habit of mourning, so suitable to thy present fortune. Implore the pity of thy fel low-citizens, and perhaps thou mayest obtain then favour, and the forgiveness of thy fault." Coriolanus NOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE.

Coriolanus was given up to be tried by the trines of the people; by whom he was condemned perpetual banishment.

(To be continued.)

ontinuation of Mr. ERSKINE'S Defence of PAINE, and of The Liberty of the Press, from page 175.]

LET then the calumniators of Thomas Paine now end to his Preface, where, to leave no excuse for norance or misrepresentation, he expresses himself us:

"I have differed from some professional gentlemen on the subject of prosecutions, and I since find they are falling into my opinion, which I will here

state as fully, but as concisely as I can.

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"I will first put a case with respect to any law, and then compare sit with a government, or with what in England is, or has been, called a Constitution.

"It would be an act of despotism, or what in England is called arbitrary power to make a law to prohibit investigating the principles, good or bad, on which such a law, or any other, is founded.

"If a law be bad, it is one thing to oppose the practice of it, but it is quite a different thing to expose its errors, to reason on its defects, and to shew cause why it should be repealed, or why another ought to be substituted in its place. I have always held it an opinion (making it also my practice), that it is better to obey a bad law, making use at the same time of every argument to shew its errors, and procure its repeal, than forcibly to violate it; because the precedent of breaking a bad law might weaken the force, and

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" lead to a diferetionary violation, of those which

" are good.

"The case is the same with principles and some of government, or to what are called constitution and the parts of which they are composed.

"It is for the good of nations, and not for the emolument or aggrandifement of particular indi. viduals, that government ought to be established.

"and that mankind are at the expence of support.

"ing it. The defects of every government and con.

"flitution, both as to principle and form, must, on a parity of reasoning, be as open to discussion as

"the defects of a law; and it is a duty which every man owes to fociety to point them out. Wha

"those defects, and the means of remedying them
"are generally feen by a nation, that nation will

" reform its government or its constitution in the one case, as the government repealed or reformed

" the law in the other."

Gentlemen, you must undoubtedly wish to des with every man who comes before you in judgment as you would be dealt by yourselves; and surely you will not lay it down as a law to be binding hereafter even upon yourselves, that if you should publish any opinion concerning the existing abuses in your country's government, and point out to the whole public the means of amendment, you are to be acquitted of convicted as any twelve men may happen to agree with you in your opinions. Yet this is precifely what you are asked to do to another; it is precifely the case before you. Mr. Paine expressly fays, I obey a law until it is repealed; obedience is not only my principle but my practice, fince my disobedience of a law from thinking it bad, might apply to justify another man in the disobedience of good one; and thus individuals would give the rule for themselves, and not society, for all.

Gentlemen, you will presently see that the same principle pervades the rest of the work; and I am er repetition may tire you, because it unfolds the nole principle of my argument: for, if you find a atence in the whole book that invests any indivial, or any number of individuals, or any commuty short of the whole nation, with a power of anging any part of the law or constitution I abann the cause—YES, I freely abandon it, because I ll not affront the majesty of a court of justice, by aintaining propositions which, even upon the surce of them, are false.—Mr. Paine, page 162—6, goes on thus:

"When a nation changes its opinion and habits of thinking, it is no longer to be governed as before; but it would not only be wrong, but bad policy, to attempt by force what ought to be accomplished by reason. Rebellion consists in forcibly opposing the general will of a nation, whether by a party or by a government. There ought, therefore, to be, in every nation, a method of occasionally ascertaining the state of public opinion with respect to govern-

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"There is therefore, no power but the voluntary Will of the People that has a right to act in any matter respecting a general Reform; and, by the same right that two persons can confer on such a subject, a thousand may. The object in all such preliminary proceedings is, to find out what the general sense of a nation is, and to be governed by it. If it prefer a bad or defective government to a reform, or chuse to pay ten times more taxes than there is occasion for, it has a right so to do; and, so long as the majority do not impose conditions on the minority different to what they impose on themselves, though there may be much error, there is no injustice; neither will the error continue long. Reason and discussion will soon bring things right, however wrong they may begin. By fuch a process no tumult is to be appre-

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hended. The poor, in all countries, are natural both peaceable and grateful in all reforms in which

their interest and happiness are included.

only by neglecting and rejecting them that

" become tumultuous."

Gentlenen, these are the sentiments of the Author of the Rights of Man; and, whatever his opinion may be of the desects in our government, it cannot change our sentiments concerning it, if our sentiments are just; and a writing can never be sediments are just; and a writing can never be sediments are just; and a writing can never be sediments are just; and a writing can never be sediments are just; and a writing can never be sediments are just; and a writing can never be sediments are just; and a writing can never be sediments.

port.

Gentlemen, this univerfal will is the best and curest title which his Majesty and his family have the throne of these kingdoms; and in proportion the wisdom of our inflitutions, the title must in on mon fense become the stronger: so little idea indea have I of any other, that in my place in parliame not a week ago, I confidered it as the best way expressing my attachment to the constitution, as ell blished at the Revolution, to declare (I believe in the presence of the Heir Apparent of the Crown, in whom I have the greatest personal zeal) that his Majet reigned in England, by choice and consent, as the magistrate of the English people; not indeed a confe and choice by personal election, like a King of h land, the worst of all possible constitutions; but the election of a family for great national objects; defiance of that hereditary right, which only become tyranny, in the sense of Mr. Paine, when it claims inherit a nation, instead of governing by their co fent, and continuing for its benefit.

Mr. Burke's high authority, he fays with great trul in a letter to his conflituents, "Too little dependant cannot be had at this time of day on names and pro-

judices: the eyes of mankind are opened; and con munities must be held together by a visible and foil winterest.

terest." I believe, Gentlemen of the Jury, that Prince of Wales will always render this title dear ne people. The Attorney General can only tell what he believes of him; I can tell you what I w, and what I am bound to declare; fince this ce may be traduced and calumniated in every part ne Kingdom, without its coming into question, brought in to load a defence with matter collateral ne charge. I therefore affert what the Attorney teral can only hope, that, whenever that Prince lever come to the throne of this Country (which I e, but by the course of nature, will never happen), will make the Constitution of Great Britain the dation of all his conduct.

laving now, Gentlemen, established the Author and intention by his own introduction, which is the and fairest exposition, let us next look at the ocon which gave it birth.

(To be continued.):

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And Pressure.					

lorious News for Church and ———. Rioters ?

the Church is not in danger—it is only to be fold!!!

Morning Chronicle, Nov. 20, 1793. TEST PRESENTATION TO A VALUABLE LIVING, Essex.

By Messrs. SKINNER and DYKE, Thursday, the 5th of December, at twelve o'clock, at Garraway's Cosse-house, 'Change-alley, Cornhill,

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THE NEXT PRESENTATION to the value ble confolidated RECTORIES of SOUTH and WEST HANNINGFIELD, fituate in a delightful, healthy, and sporting part of the county of Essex, a short distance from Chelmsford, and only 30 miles from London, of the annual value of Three hundred and seventy pounds, seventeen shillings and six-pence per annual arising from the great and small tythes, which is taken in kind, would produce considerably more, with good parsonage-house, and sifty acres of glebe land. The present Incumbent is upwards of 80 years of age!!!

Particulars may be had, fourteen days preceding the fale, at the Black Boy, Chelmsford; George, Witham White Hart, Colchester; Mr. Jackson, Printer, Oxford; at the place of sale; and of Messes. Skinns

and Dyke, Alderfgate-street.

Morning Chronicle, No. 27, 1793, CORNWALL.

To be SOLD, the next Prefentation to a LIVING of the annual value of 500l. and upwards, and the prefent Incumbent 91 years of age!!!

For further particulars apply to Messrs. Graham,

Lincoln's Inn.

THE DISTRESSES OF THE POOR,

Exemplified in the LIFE OF A PRIVATE SOLDIER

From the Citizen of the World. By Dr. Goldsmith.

THE misfortunes of the great, my friend, are held up to engage our attention, are enlarged upon it tones of declamation, and the world is called upon to our

FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE. 195

ze at the noble fufferers; they have at once the

mfort of admiration and pity.

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Yet where is the magnanimity of bearing misfortunes, hen the whole world is looking on? Men in such reumstances can act bravely even from motives of nity. He only who, in the vale of obscurity, can ave adversity, who, without friends to encourage, quaintances to pity, or even without hope to allevishis distresses, can behave with tranquility and inference, is truly great; whether peasant or course, he deserves admiration, and should be held up rour imitation and respect.

The miseries of the poor are, however, entirely is in one day than the great in their whole lives. is indeed inconceivable what difficulties the meanest inglish failor or soldier endures without murmuring regret. Every day to him is a day of misery, and

et he bears his hard fate without repining.

With what indignation do I hear the heroes of traedy complain of misfortunes and hardfhips, whose reatest calaunity is founded in arrogance and pride. Their severest distresses are pleasures, compared to what many of the adventuring poor every day sustain, without murmuring. These may eat, drink and seep, have slaves to attend them, and are sure of instance for life, while many of their sellow-creaures are obliged to wander, without a friend to comort or to assist them, find enmity in every law, and are too poor to obtain even justice.

I have been led into these restections, from accidentally meeting some days ago, a poor sellow beging at one of the outlets of the town, with a wooden eg. I was curious to learn what had reduced him to its present situation; and after giving him what I hought proper, desired to know the history of his life and missortunes, and the manner in which he was reduced to his present distress. The disabled soldier, for such he was, with an intrepidity truly British,

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leaning on his crutch, put himself into an attitudent comply with my request, and gave me his history follows:

As for misfortunes, Sir, I can't pretend to han gone through more than others. Except the loss my limb, and my being obliged to beg, I don't know any reason, thank heaven, that I have to complain there are some that have lost both legs and an expett, thank heaven, it is not quite so bad with me.

My father was a labourer in the country, and diswhen I was five years old; fo I was put upon the parish. As he had been a wandering fort of a mather parishioners were not able to tell to what pand belonged, or where I was born; fo they sent ment another parish, and that parish sent me to a thing till at last it was thought I belonged to no parish at a length, however, they fixed me. I had somed position to be a scholar, and had actually learned my letters; but the master of the workhouse put ment business, as soon as I was able to handle a mallet.

Here I lived an easy kind of a life for five year I only wrought ten hours in the day, and had meat and drink provided for my labour. It is too I was not suffered to stir far from the house, so for I should run away; but what of that, I had the libert of the whole house, and the yard before the down

and that was enough for me.

I was next bound out to a farmer, where I was up both early and late, but I eat and drank well and liked my business well enough, till he died. Being then obliged to ptovide for myself, I was resolved to go and seek my fortune. Thus I lived and went from town to town, working when I could get me playment, and starving when I could get none, and might have lived so still; but happening one day to go through a field belonging to a magistrate, I spyte a hare crossing the path just before me. I believe the devil put it in my head to sling my stick at it: well, what will you have on't? I kill'd the hare, and we bringing

inging it away in triumph, when the justice himif met me: he called me a villain, and collering
e, desired I would give an account of myself. I
gan immediately to give a full account of all that I
sew of my breed, seed and generation: but though
gave a very long account, the justice said, I could
ve no account of myself; so I was indicted and
and guilty of being poor, and sent to Newgate, in orit to be transported to the plantations.

People may fay this and that of being in jail; but my part, I found Newgate as agreeable a place as er I was in, in all my life. I had my belly full eat and drink, and did no work; but alas, this kind life was too good to last for ever! I was taken at of prison, after five months, put on board of a ip, and fent off with two hundred more. Our pafge was but indifferent, for we were all confined in he hold, and died very fast, for want of sweet air and rovisions; but for my part, I did not want meat, ecause I had a fever all the way; providence was ind when provisions grew short, it took away my When we came on thore, we were esire of eating. old to the Planters. I was bound for feven years; nd as I was no icholar, for I had forgot my letters, I vas obliged to work among the negroes; and ferved. ut my time as in duty bound to do.

has not been and the state of t

When my time was expired, I worked my affage home, and glad I was to fee Old England gain, because I loved my Country. O Liberty, Liberty, Liberty! that is the property of every Englishman, and I will die in it's defence: I was afraid, however, that I should be indicted for a vagabond once more, so did not much care to go into the country, but kept about town, and did little jobs when get them. I was very happy in this manner for some time, till one evening, coming home from work, two men knocked me down, and then defired me to stand still. They belonged to a press gang; I was carried before the justice, and as I could give no ac-

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bled me), I had my choice left, whether to go a board a man of war, or lift for a foldier; I choice be a foldier, and in this part of a gentleman I ferrel two campaigns, was at the battles in Flanders, and received but one wound through the breast, which is

troublefome to this day.

When the peace came on, I was discharged; and as I could not work, because my wound was some times painful, I listed for a landsman in the East India Company's service. I here fought the French in a pitched battles; and verily believe, that if I could real or write, our Captain would have given me promotion, and made me a corporal. But that was not my good for nothing, got leave to return home again with forty pounds in my pocket, which I saved in the service. This was at the beginning of the present was so I hoped to be set on shore, and to have the pleasure of spending my money; but the government wanted men, and I was pressed again before ever I could set soot on shore.

The boatswain found me, as he said, an oblinate fellow: he swore that I understood my business
perfectly well, but that I pretended sickness merely
to be idle: God knows, I knew nothing of sea business! He beat me without considering what he was
about. But still my forty pounds was some comfort
to me under every beating; the money was my comfort, and the money I might have had to this day,
but that our ship was taken by the French, and so leads

loft it all !

Many of them died, because they were not used to live in a jail; but for my part it was nothing to me, for I was seasoned. One night however, as I was seeing on the bed of boards, with a warm blanket about me, (for I always loved to lie well) I was awaked by the boatswain, who had a dark lanthorn in his hand.

and. Jack, fays he to me, will you knock out the rench centry's brains? I don't care, fays I, Ariving keep myself awake, if I lend a hand. Then follow ne, fays he, and I hope we shall do business. gos, and tied my blanket, which was all the cloaths had, about my middle, and went with him to fight he Frenchmen: we had no arms; but one Englishman able to beat five French at any time; fo we went own to the door, where both the centries were postd, and rushing upon them, seized their arms in a noment, and knocked them down. From thence ine of us ran together to the Quay, and feizing the in boat we met, got out of the harbour, and put to ea. We had not been here three days, before we were aken by an English privateer, who was glad of so many good hands, and we confented to run our chance. However, we had not fo much luck as we expected. In three days we fell in with a French man of War of forty guns, while we had but twenty-three; fo to it we went. The fight lasted for hree hours, and I verily believe we should have taken the Frenchman, but unfortunately we lost almost all our men, just as we were going to get the victory. I was once more in the power of the French, and I believe it would have gone hard with me, had I been brought back to my old jail in Brest; but by good formue we were re-taken, and carried to England once more.

I had almost forgot to tell you, that in this last engagement I was wounded in two places; I lost four singers of the lest hand, and my leg was cut off. Had I the good fortune to have lost my leg and the use of my hand on board a king's ship, and not a privateer, I should have been entitled to cloathing and maintenance during the rest of my life, but that was not my chance; one man is born with a silver spoon in his mouth, and another a wooden ladle. However, blessed be God, I enjoy good health, and have no enemy in this

200 PIGS MEAT, OR LESSONS

world that I know of, but the French and the julie of peace.

Thus faying, he limped off, leaving my friend an me in admiration of his intrepidity and content.

ON KINGS.

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From Godwin's Enquiry concerning Political Jufficts

TONARCHY is fo unnatural an inflitution, the M mankind have at all times strongly suspected was unfriendly to their happiness. The power truth upon important topics is fuch, that it may rath be faid to be obscured than obliterated; and fallhoo has scarcely ever been so successful, as not to have ha a reftless and powerful antagonist in the heart of its w The man who with difficulty earns his feant subfiftence, cannot behold the oftentatious splendore a king, without being vifited by fome-fense of injustice He inevitably questions in his mind the utility of officer, whose services are hired at so enormous price. If he confider the fubject with any degree accuracy, he is led to perceive, and that with fuffic ent furprise, that a king is nothing more than a con mon mortal, exceeded by many, and equalled by more in every requifite of strength, capacity, and visto He feels therefore, that nothing can be more ground less and unjust, than the supposing that one such man this is the fittest and most competent instrument s regulating the affairs of nations.

These reflections are so unavoidable, that king themselves have often been aware of the danger their imaginary happiness with which they are preparent. They have sometimes been alarmed with the progress of thinking, and oftener regarded the earth and prosperity of their subjects as a source of terms

dapprehension. They justly consider their functions a fort of public exhibition, the success of which pends upon the credulity of the spectators, and which ood fense and courage would speedily bring to a rmination. Hence the well known maxims of moarchial government, that ease is the parent of rebelon, and that it is necessary to keep the people in a ate of poverty and endurance, in order to render them bmiffive. Hence it has been the perpetual comaint of despotism, that "the restive knaves are overm with eafe, and plenty ever is the nurse of faction"." lence it has been the lesson perpetually read to moarchs: "Render your subjects prosperous, and they ill speedily refuse to labour; they will become stuborn, proud, unsubmissive to the yoke, and ripe for volt. It is impotence and mifery that alone will nder them supple, and prevent them from rebelling gainst the dictates of authority +."

* Tragedy of Jane Shore, Act III.

+ Telemaque, Liv. XIII.

(To be continued.)

ON THE REBELLION OF PRINCES.

faiah, 1. xxiii. Thy Princes are rebellious, and Companions of Thieves: every one loveth Gifts, and followeth after Rewards: they judge not the Fatherless, neither doth the Cause of the Widow come before them.

Newcastle, Author of Sermons to Asses.

Printed in the Year 1781.

PRINCES may be rebellious by joining interests and partnership with thieves and dishonest perturn. These are such as take what is not their own, and

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and apply it to their own purposes. This is a coan compliment to princes, but as it is given by an inspire Prophet it cannot be taken amiss.

It is rebellion against God and the laws, for rule to take more than justly is due to them, or join intend

with those who do.

It is also dishonest to promote or procure laws, the may make it legal to give them more than the peop can afford; this comes under the notion of thest as rebellion, according to the Prophet's idea.

The Princes of Judah and Ifrael went partners win the Sovereign in the plunder of the Nation. The probably voted large supplies to the king, because the knew they would receive a share of the revenue, an might promote a law for encreasing the civil list hopes of serving in his Majesty's houshold; but the was thest and rebellion against justice, and the lat of the land.

Those who obey the fundamental laws of gover ment cannot be rebels, though it is manifest that legi lators that make laws contrary to natural justice at the law of God may be guilty of rebellion.

Not executing the laws impartially is joined with rebellion, or is rather a part of it. The fatherless the widow were either neglected or made feel all the force of penal laws when they were guilty, when the who had influence in a tribe, or could ferve the ends administration, were refcued from justice, when the had committed the most capital crimes.

This is by the Prophet accounted the very height rebellion, and is often committed by princes and the

companions.

Thus it is plain, that rebellion is not a crime pecliar to the people only, but is also sometimes to be found at the very springs of government.

Some would make us believe that kings and prince cannot be guilty of rebellion, but the feripture inform

us otherwise.

As we are certain from the best authority, that ever prince

nces may rebel, the question now is, whether they ht to be punished for it like other rebels, and who lawfully punish them? This question requires a le caution, and must be determined by scripture; it is hoped that then no Christian will dissent

whether there is any difference between trying and Princes for rebellion, and punishing them hout trying them, I shall leave to the Tories and suits to determine. For there has been more noise accorning the trial of King Charles the First, than accorning the punishment of all the rebellious princes

ce the Conquest.

This Prince is the only martyr we find among the age of England, though many of them have fuffer-for their tytanny and rebellion against the laws.

The Kings in this country are confidered as the ree of the laws, and it is supposed that if the King ald die, that all law would be at an end; for this son the lawyers have made our kings immortal, I laid it down as a first principle, that the King cantidie.

It ought to have been seriously considered, before the a mysterious maxim had been laid down as a st principle, whether laws or Kings were first apinted by the Almighty; for if ever we find laws thout Kings, it will appear manifest that they are t necessary to the being of government, but that we may continue when there is no monarch.

It is plain, that there was law before we heard any ing of any ruler except God himself, from hence it ould appear, that the existence of laws does not dend upon any human regal authority, and though at Kings should chance to die, the laws, if just, will name immortal; if they are unjust, they ought

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ver to exist.

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ON THE NATIONAL SIN OF SUFFERING BAD GOVERNMENT.

From A Discourse for the Fast on April 19th, 1793

Entitled SINS OF THE NATION.

THE vices of nations may be divided into the which relate to their own internal proceeding or to their relations with other states. With rega to the first, the causes for humiliation are vano Many nations are guilty of the crime of permiting pressive laws and bad governments to remain among them, by which the poor are crushed, and the liv of the innocent are laid at the mercy of wick and arbitrary men. This is a national fin of the dee est dye, as it involves in it most others. It is paint to reflect how many atrocious governments there a in the world, and how little even they who end good ones, feem to understand their true natur We are apt to speak of the happiness of living under mild government, as if it were like the happiness living under an indulgent climate; and when we that God for it, we rank it with the bleffings of the and of the foil; whereas we ought to thank God f the wisdom and virtue of living under a good gover ment, for a good government is the first of nation duties. It is indeed a happiness, and one which d mands our most grateful thanks, to be born under of which spares us the trouble and hazard of changing it; but a people born under a good government, w probably not die under one, if they conceive of it of an indolent and passive happiness, to be left for preservation, to fortunate conjunctures, and the flor ing and variable chances of incalculable evenis, o fecond duty is to keep it good.

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OF GOVERNMENT.

By Richard Price, D. D. F. R. S.

ROM what has been said it is obvious, that all Civil Government, as far as it can be denomined free, is the creature of the people. It originates the them. It is conducted under their direction; that in view nothing but their happiness. All its ferent forms are no more than so many different des in which they chuse to direct their affairs, and secure the quiet enjoyment of their rights.—In the ry free state every man is his own legislator. All water free-gifts for public fervices.—All laws are nicular provisions or regulations established by OMMON CONSENT for gaining protection and safe—And all Magistrates are trustees or deputies for trying these regulations into execution.

Liberty, therefore, is too imperfectly defined when is faid to be "a Government by Laws, and not Mrn." If the laws are made by one man, or a not of men in a state, and not by common control a government by them does not differ from very. In this case it would be a contradiction in

ms to fay, that the state governs itself.

from hence it is obvious that Civil Liberty, in the of perfect degree, can be enjoyed only in small its, where every member is capable of giving his frage in person, and of being chosen into public lices. When a state becomes so numerous, or when a different parts of it are removed to such distances on one another, as to render this impracticable, a iminution of liberty necessarily arries. There are, owever, in these circumstances, methods by which ich near approaches may be made to perfect liberty shall answer all the purposes of government, and the same time secure every right of human nature. No. XVIII.

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Tho' all the members of a state should not be a pable of giving their suffrages on public measures, in dividually and personally, they may do this by the appointment of substitutes or representatives. They are entrust the powers of legislation, subject to such a strictions as they shall think necessary, with any number of delegates; and whatever can be done by substituted as done by the united voice and counsel of the community.—In this method a free government may be established in the largest state; and it is conceivable, that by regulations of this kind, any number of states might be subjected to a scheme of government, that would exclude the desolations of war

and produce univerfal peace and order.

Let us think here of what may be practicable this way with respect to Europe in particular .- Whi it continues divided, as it is at present, into a gree number of independent kingdoms, whose interest are continually clashing, it is impossible but that di putes will often arise, which must end in war an carnage. It would be no remedy to this evil to make one of these states supreme over the rest; and to gir it an absolute plenitude of power to superintendan This would be to subject all the controul them. states to the arbitrary discretion of one, and to ell blish an ignominious slavery, not possible to be lon endured. It would, therefore, be a remedy won than the disease; nor is it possible it should be a proved by any mind that has not lost every idea civil liberty. On the contrary.—Let every flate with respect to all its internal concerns, be continue independent of all the rest; and let a general con federacy be formed by the appointment of a SENATI confisting of representatives from all the differen flates. Let this SENATE posses the power of m naging all the common concerns of the united flate and of judging and deciding between them, as common arbiter or umpire, in all disputes; having the same time, under its direction, the common ce of the states to support its decisions. In these cumstances, each seperate state would be secure inst the interference of foreign power in its private icems, and, therefore, would posses liberty; and the same time it would be secure against all op-ssion and insult from every neighbouring state.—

sus might the scattered force and abilities of a sole continent be gathered into one point; all litisons settled as they rose; universal peace establed; and nation prevented from any more listing a sword against nation.

HE NEW CONSTITUTION OF FRANCE,

[Continued from page 180.]

OF THE REPUBLIC.

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t. THE French Republic is one and indivisible.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PEOPLE.

- 2. The French People is distributed, for the exere of its sovereignty, into Primary Assemblies of antons.
- 3. It is distributed, for administration and for justice, to Departments, Districts and Municipalities.

OF THE STATE OF CITIZENS.

4 Every man born or domiciliated in France, of eage of twenty-one years complete;

Every foreigner of the age of twenty-one years comete, who has been domiciliated in France for one

Lives in it by his labour; or acquires a property;

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or marries a French woman; or adopts a child; or maintains an aged person; finally, every foreigner, who shall be judged by the Legislative Body to have deserved well of humanity;

Is admitted to the exercise of the rights of a French citizen.

The exercise of the rights of a citizen is lot 5. by naturalization in a foreign country; by the accept. ance of functions or favours flowing from a govenment not popular; by condemnation to punishment infamous or afflictive, till recapacitation.

6. The exercise of the rights of a Citizen is followed. pended, by the flate of accufation; by a judgment of contumacy, as long as that judgment is not annulled.

OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.

7. The fovereign people is the universality of French citizens.

8. It nominates directly, its Deputies.

9 It delegates to Electors the choice of Admini strators, of Public Arbitrators, of Criminal Judge, and Judges of Appeal.

10. It deliberates on the laws.

OF THE PRIMARY ASSEMBLIES.

.TI. The Primary Affemblies are composed of the Citizens domiciliated for fix months in each canton.

12. They are composed of 200 citizens at the lead,

and 600 at the most called to vote.

13. They are constituted by the nomination of Prefident, Secretaries and Scrutineers.

14. Their police appertains to them.

15. No person can appear in them armed.

16. The elections are made by ballot, or open voto at the option of each voter.

17. A Primary Assembly cannot, in any case, pre-

scribe a uniform mode of voting.

18. The Scrutineers ascertain the votes of citizent who cannot write and choose to vote by ballot. 19. The 19. The suffrages upon laws are given by yes or

no.

20. The will of a Primary Assembly is proclaimed is? The citizens met in Primary Assembly of _____, to number of _____ votes, vote for, or vote against, by ajority of ____.

F THE NATIONAL REPRESENTATION.

21. The population is the fole basis of the National presentation.

22. There is one Deputy for every 40,000 indi-

luals.

m a population of from 39,000 to 41,000 fouls, minates directly one Deputy.

24. The nomination is made by the absolute majo-

y of fuffrages.

25. Each Assembly casts up the suffrages, and sends commissioner for the general casting up to the place inted out as the most central.

26. If the first casting up does not give an absolute jority, a second vote is proceeded to, and the votes taken for the two citizens who had the most

ices.

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27. In case of equality of voices, the eldest has the efference, either to be on the ballot, or elected.

case of equality of age, lot decides.

28. Every Frenchman, exercifing the rights of tizen, is eligible through the extent of the Republica-29. Each Deputy belongs to the whole nation.

30. In case of the non-acceptance, resignation, forture or death of a Deputy, he is replaced by the imary Assemblies who nominated him.

31. A Deputy who has given in his refignation, mot quit his post, but after the admission of his ceessor:

32. The French People affemble every year on the of May for the elections.

33. It proceeds in them, whatever be the number Citizens present having a right to vote.

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34. Primary Assemblies are formed on extraordinary occasions, on the demand of a fifth of the Citizens, who have a right to vote in them.

35. The Convocation is made, in this case, by the

Municipality of the ordinary place of meeting.

36. These extraordinary Assemblies do not deliberate but when one more than the half of the citizens who have a right to vote in them, are present.

OF ELECTORAL ASSEMBLIES.

37. The Citizens met, in Primary Assemblies, no minate one Elector for every 200 Citizens; present o not, two for from 201 to 400, and three for from 40 to 600.

38. The holding of the Electoral Assemblies, and the mode of elections, are the same as in the Primar

Assemblies.

OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY.

39. The Legislative Body is one indivisible an permanent.

40. Its fession is for a year.
41. It meets the 1st. of July.

42. The National Assembly cannot be constituted if it do not consist of one more than the half of the Deputies.

43. The Deputies cannot be examined, accused, a tried at any time, for the opinions they have deliver

in the Legislative Body.

44. They may, for a criminal act, be seized, a flagrant delite; but a warrant of arrest, or a warrant summoning to appear, cannot be granted against the unless authorised by the Legislative Body.

HOLDING OF THE SITTINGS OF THE LI

45. The Sittings of the National Affembly a public.

46. The minutes of its fittings are printed.

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47. It cannot deliberate, if it be not composed of o members at least.

48. It cannot refuse to hear its members speak in 49. It deliberates by the majority of the members. order in which they have demanded to be heard.

50. Fifty members have a right to require the ap-

It has the right of censure on the conduct of members in its bosom.

52. The police appertains to it in the place of its ings, and in the external circuit which it has dermined.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE LEGISLA-TIVE BODY.

53. The Legislative Body proposes laws and passes ecrees.

54 Under the general name of laws are comprended the acts of the Legislative Pily concerning e Legislation civil and criminal; the general admifration of the revenues, and of the ordinary exences of the Republic; the national domains; the tle, the weight, the impression, and the denomination fmoney; the nature, the amount, and the collection contributions; the declaration of war; every new eneral distribution of the French territory; the pubtinstruction; the public honours to the memory of reat men.

55. Under the particular name of Decrees, are in-loded the acts of the Legislative Body, concerning te annual establishment of the land and sea forces; he permission or the prohibition of the passage of weign troops through the French territory; the inmoduction of foreign naval forces into the ports of the Republic; the measures of general safety and tranquilty; the annual and momentary distribution of pubinfuccours and works, the orders for the fabrication of money of every kind; the unforeseen and extraor-

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dinary expences; the measures local and particular to an administration, a commune, or any kind of public works; the defence of the territory; the ratification of treaties; the nomination and the removal of commanders in chief of armies; the prosecution of the responsibility of Members of the Council, and the public functionaries; the accusation of persons charged with plots against the general safety of the Republic; all change in the partial distribution of the French territory; National recompences.

OF THE FORMATION OF THE LAW.

56. The plans of law are preceded by a report.

57. The discussion cannot be opened, and the law cannot be provisionally resolved upon till 15 days after the report.

58. The plan is printed and fent to all the Com. munes of the Republic, under this title: Law pro-

poled.

5.9. Forty dess after the fending of the law proposed, if in meet than one half of the Departments, the tenth of the Primary Assemblies of each, have not objected to it, the plan is accepted and becomes law.

60. If there be an objection, the Legislative Body

convokes the Primary Assemblies.

OF THE ENTITLING OF LAWS AND DECREES.

61. Laws, decrees, judgments, and all public afts are entitled: In the name of the French People, the year of the French Republic.

(To be continued.)

POPULAR ASSEMBLIES UNDERSTAND ON-LY THEIR OWN INTERESTS.

From Harrington's Oceana.

A Popular Affembly has no mean, but is either the wifest in nature, or has no brains at all.

When affairs go upon no other than the public interest

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rest, this having no other interest to follow, nor es to see withal, is the wisest council: but such ys are destructive to a prince, and they will have nay. The congregation of Ifrael, when REHOam would not hearken to their advice, deposed n: and we know what popular councils, so foon as y came to sufficient power, did in England. If a ince put a popular council from this ward, he does reat matter, and to little purpose; for they undernd nothing else but themselves. Wherefore the ings of France and of Spain have dissolved all such emblies. It is true, where a prince is not firong ough to get money out of them but by their connt, they are necessary; yet then they are not purely advice and dispatch, but share in the government, dhe cannot be meddling with their purses, but ey will be meddling with his laws. The Senate is. fitter use for a prince; and yet, except he has the ay of TIBERIUS, but a ticklish piece, as appears by aximinus, who was destroyed by Pupienus and ALBINUS, captains fet up against him by this order. o go to the root: These things are not otherwise. prudence or choice than by direction of the bame; where this is popular, no remedy but the ince must be advised by the people, which if the te king would have endured, the monarchy might we subsisted somewhat longer; but while the bance was Aristocratical, as during the great estates of e nobility and the clergy, we find not the people have been great or wife counfellors. In furn, if king governs by a popular council, or a house of ommons, the throne will not stand long: if he goems by a senate, or a house of lords, let him never ar the throne, but have a care of himself: there is othird, as I have faid often enough, but the Divan.

am glad.

ON RELIGION.

Morning Chronicle, Nov. 29, 1793. Few days after the Bishop of Paris and hi Vicars had fet the example of renouncing the clerical character, a Curé from a village on the Bank of the Rhone, followed by some of his parishionen with an offering of gold and filver faints, chalices rich vestments, &c. presented himself at the Bar of the National Convention. The fight of the gold pa the Convention in a very good humour, and the Cure a thin venerable looking man, with grey hairs, wa I come, faid he, from the ordered to fpeak. village of ____, where the only good building stand ing (for the Chateau has been pulled down), is very fine church; my parishioners beg you will take it to make an hospital for the fick and wounded of both parties, they being both equally our country, men; the gold and filver, part of which we have brought you, they entreat you will devote to the fer vice of the state, and that you will cast the bells into cannon, to drive away its foreign invaders; for my felf, I am come with great pleasure to refign my let ters of ordination, of induction, and every deed and title, by which I have been constituted a member of your ecclefiaftical polity. Here are the papers, you may burn them, if you please, in the same fire with the genealogical trees and patents of the nobility. defire likewise, that you will discontinue my falary I am still able to support myself with the labour of my hands, and I beg you to believe, that I never fel fincerer joy than I now do in making this renunciation. I have longed to fee this day, I fee it, and

When the old man had done speaking, the applauses were immoderate. You are an honest man, faid they, all at once; a brave fellow; and the Prefident advanced to give him the fraternal embrace.

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e Curé did not feem greatly elated with thefe kens of approbation, and thus resumed his disurse:-" Besore you applaud my sentiments, it is you should understand them; perhaps, they may tentirely coincide with your own. I rejoice in sday, not because I wish to see religion degraded, t because I wish to see it exalted and purified. folving its alliance with the state, you have given it mity and independence. You have done it a piece fervice, which its well-wishers would perhaps nerhave had courage to render it, but which is the ly thing wanted to make it appear in its genuine auty and lustre. Nobody will now fay of me when am performing the offices of my religion, it is his de, he is paid for telling the people such and such ings, he is hired to keep up an useful piece of mumery. They cannot now fay this, and therefore I el myself raised in my own esteem, and shall speak them with a confidence and frankness, which bere this I never durst venture to assume. We rein without reluctance our gold and filver images, d embroidered vestments, because we have never and that looking upon gold and filver made the art more pure, or the affections more heavenly: can also spare our churches, for the heart that thes to lift itself up to God will never be at a loss froom to do it in; but we cannot spare our relion, because, to tell you the truth, we never had so uch occasion for it. I understand that you accuse priests of having told the people a great many shoods. I suspect this may have been the case, but this day we have never been allowed to enquire hether the things which we taught them were true rnot. You required us formerly to receive them without proof, and you now would have us reject em all without discrimination; neither of these nodes of conduct become philosophers, such as you fould be thought to be. I am going to employ welf diligently along with my parishioners, to fift

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the wheat from the bran, the true from the falls if we are not successful, we shall be at least fincere, fear, indeed, that while I wore these vestments whi we have brought you, and spoke in that large gloon building which we have given up to you, I told poor flock a great many idle stories. I cannot h hope, however, that the errors we have fallen in have not been very material, fince the village has general been fober and good, the peafants are home docile, and laborious, the husbands love their win and the wives their husbands; they are fortunate not too rich to be compassionate, and they have co stantly relieved the fick and fugitives of all part whenever it has lain in their way. I think therefor what I have taught cannot be fo very much ami You want to extirpate priefts; but will you hind the ignorant from applying for instruction, the happy for comfort and hope, the unlearned for looking up to the learned? If you do not, you w have priests, by whatever name you may order the to be called; but it is certainly not necessary the should wear a particular dress, or be appointed flate letters of ordination. My letters of ordinati are my zeal, my charity, my ardent love for my d children of the village; if I were more learned would add my knowledge, but alas! we all kn very little; to man every error is pardonable want of humility. We have a public walk, with fpreading elm-tree at one end of it, and a circle green round it, with a convenient bench. Here shall get together the children as they are plays around me. I shall point to the vines laden w fruit, to the orchards, to the herds or cattle low around us, to those distant hills stretching one behi another, and they will ask me, how came all the things? I shall tell them all I know or have he from wife men who have lived before me; they be penetrated with love and veneration; they w kneel, I shall kneel with them; they will be at

t, but all of us at the feet of that Good Being, om we shall worship together, and thus they will eive within their tender minds a religion. The old n will come fometimes from having deposited under egreen fod one of their companions, and place themves by my fide; they will look withfully at the turf, danxiously enquire-is he gone for ever? shall we on be like him? will no morning break over the mb?-When the wicked cease from troubling, will e good cease from doing good? We will talk of ose things: I will comfort them. I will tell them the goodness of God; I will speak to them of a eto come; I will bid them hope for a state of rebution. In a clear night, when the stars slide over theads, they will ask what those bright bodies are. dby what rules they rife and fet i-and we will averse about different forms of being, and distant orlds in the immensity of space governed by the me laws, till we feel our minds raifed from what groveling, and refined from what is fordid. You k of Nature, this is Nature; and if you could at smoment extinguish religion in the minds of all the orld, thus would it be rekindled again. and thus an excite the curiofity and interest the feelings of mkind. You have changed our holidays; you me an undoubted right, as our civil governors, fo do; it is very immaterial whether they are kept me in seven days, or once in ten; some however, will leave us, and when they occur, I shall tell of who chuse to hear me, of the beauty and utility wittue, of the dignity of right conduct. We shall k of good men who have lived in the world, and the doctrines they taught; and if any of them have en persecuted and put to death for their virtue, eshall reverence their memories the more.—I hope all this there is no harm. There is a book out of hich I have fometimes taught my people; it fays we ne to love those who do us hurt, and to pour oil d wine into the wounds of the granger. It has No. XIX. enabled

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enabled my children to bear patiently the spoiling their goods, and to give up their own interest forth general walfare: I think it cannot be a very he book. I wish more of it had been read in you town, perhaps you would not have had quite many affassinations and massacres. In this book, hear of a person called Jesus; some worship him a God; others, as I am told, say it is wrong to a some teach that he existed before the beginning of ages; others, that he was born of Joseph a Mary. I cannot tell whether these controvers will ever be decided; but, in the mean time, I this we cannot do otherwise than well to imitate his for I learn that he loved the poor, and went about the state of the state of the state of the poor, and went about the state of the state of the poor, and went about the state of the state of the poor, and went about the state of the poor, and went about the poor.

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Fellow-Citizens; as I travelled hither from 1 own Village, I faw peafants fitting amongst the smo ing ruins of their cottages; rich men and wom reduced to deplorable poverty; Fathers lamenti their children in the bloom and pride of youth; a I faid to myfelf, these people cannot afford to p with their religion. But indeed you cannot take away; if, contrary to your first declaration, y chuse to try the experiment of persecuting it, y will only make us prize it more, and love it bett Religion, true or false, is so necessary to the mind man, that even you have already begun to ma yourselves a new one. You are sowing the seeds fuperstition at the moment you fancy you are define ing superstition. Let every one chuse the relig that pleases him; I and my parishioners are cont with ours, it teaches us to bear without desponden whatever evils may befal us.

ON KINGS.

from Godwin's Enquiry concerning Political Justice.

[Continued from page 201.]

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ET us proceed to confider the moral effects which the institution of monarchical government is culated ro produce upon the inhabitants of the counes in which it flourishes. And here it must be laid wn as a first principle, that monarchy is founded in posture. It is false that kings are entitled to the mence they obtain. They possess no intrinsic supenity over their subjects. The line of distinction tis drawn is the offspring of pretence, an indirect ans employed for effecting certain purposes, and the offspring of truth. It tramples upon the geine nature of things, and depends for its support on this argument, "that, were it not for impositions a fimilar nature, mankind would be miferable." becondly, it is false that kings can discharge the ties of royalty. They pretend to superintend the in of millions, and they are necessarily unacquaintwith these affairs. The senses of kings are conand like those of other men, they can neither see thear what is transacted in their absences. They tend to administer the affairs of millions, and they less no fuch supernatural powers as should enable m to act at a distance. They are nothing of what y would perfuade us to believe them. often ignorant of that of which half the inhabitants his dominions are informed. His prerogatives are ministered by others, and THE LOWEST CLERK IN FICE IS FREQUENTLY TO THIS AND THAT IN-VIDUAL MORE EFFECTUALLY THE SOVEREIGN AN THE KING HIMSELF. He knows nothing of at is folemnly transacted in his name. To conduct this imposture with success it is necesyto bring over to its party our eyes and our ears. Accordingly

Accordingly kings are always exhibited with all the fplendour of ornament, attendance and equipage. They live amidit a fumptuousness of expence; and this not merely to gratify their appetites, but as a necessary instrument of policy. The most fatal opinion that could lay hold upon the minds of their subjects in that kings are but men. Accordingly they are care sully withdrawn from the profaneness of vulgar in spection; and, when they are exhibited, it is with every artisce that may dazzle our sense and milest

our judgment.

The imposture does not stop with our eyes, bu addresses itself to our ears. Hence the inflated fill of regal formality. The NAME OF KING every when obtrudes itself upon us. It would feem as if ever thing in the country, the lands, the houses, the fur niture and the inhabitants were his property. Ou estates are the king's dominions. Our bodies an minds are his subjects. Our representatives are hi parliament. Our courts of law are his deputies. A magistrates throughout the realm are the king's of ncers. His name occupies the foremost place in a flatutes and decrees. He is the profecutor of ever criminal. He is " Our Sovereign Lord the king. Were it possible that he should die, "the fountain of our blood, the means by which we live," would b gone: every political function would be suspended It is therefore one of the fundamental principles of monarchical government that " the king cannot die. Our moral principles accommodate themselves our veracity: and accordingly the fum of our pol tical duties (the most important of all duties) is loy alty; to be true and faithful to the king; to honou a man whom it may be we ought to despise: and t obey; that is, to acknowledge no immutable criter on of justice and injustice.

(To be continued.)

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KINGS ARE GREAT BLESSINGS!

Soon as a Monarch mounts a throne,
His usefulness is clearly known,
As thousands can declare;
The kingly trade he undertakes,
And MANY a little monarch makes,
The government to share.

And now in all the toils of state,
He thinks and labours—early—late;

And with an anxious mind!

He presses on from care to care,

The people's burthens heavy bear,

Upon his gracious mind!

He leaves the diffipated crew, Routs, feafts, and sporting to pursue—

The Follies of the Day:
Far greater thoughts his heart engage,
Than concerts—hunting—or the stage;
As wife Duguet doth fay.

The law he next furveys, and fees
That acts and deeds, and fuits and fees

May not the poor oppress;
Hence judges so upright we see,
And juries honest, wise, and free;
Their purest thoughts express.

Anon the Church his care demands, The holy troop with gowns and bands,

He fuffers none FOR HIRE!
To feed and guide the poor and blind,
To raise and cultivate the mind,

Of each he doth require.

Thus Kings are rais'd to bless a land,
And Church and State go hand in hand,
The blessing to ensure;
Upon men's backs the Junto rides;
So soft they sit upon their hides,

Tis pleasant to endure!

ON

ON THE HORRORS OF WAR.

By Dr. Johnson.

T is wonderful, with what coolness and indiff A ference the greater part of mankind fee war com-Those who hear of it at a distance, or read of it in books, but have never presented its evils to their minds, confider it as little more than a splendid game, a proclamation, an army, a battle, and a tri umph. Some indeed must perish in the most success ful field, but they die upon the bed of honour, n fign their lives amidft the joys of conquest, and, filled with

England's glory, smile in death.

The life of a modern foldier is ill represented by heroic fiction. War has means of destruction more formidable than the cannon and the fword. Of the thousands and ten thousands who perished in our lat contests with France and Spain, a very small partere felt the stroke of an enemy; the rest languished i tents and ships, amidst damps and putrefaction, pale torpid, spiritless, and helpless; gasping and groaning unpitied among men, made obdurate by a long con tinuance of hopeless misery; and were at last whelme in pits, or heaved into the ocean, without notice and without remembrance. By incommodious en campments, and unwholesome stations, where course is useless, and enterprize impracticable, fleets at filently dispeopled, and armies sluggishly melted away

Thus is a people gradually exhausted, for the mo part with little effect. The wars of civilized nation make very flow changes in the fystem of empire. The public perceives scarcely any alteration but an en crease of debt; and the sew individuals who are be nefited, are not supposed to have the clearest right their advantages. If he who shared the danger en joyed the profit, and after bleeding in the battle gre tich by the victory, he might shew his gains withou

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ry. But at the conclusion of a ten years war, how ewe recompensed for the death of multitudes, and expense of millions, but by contemplating the dden glories of paymasters and agents, contractors d commissaries, whose equipages shine like meteors, d whose palaces rise like exhalations.

These are the men who, without virtue, labour, or zard, are growing rich as their country is imprerished; they rejoice when obstinacy or ambition is another year to slaughter and devastation; and ugh from their desks at bravery and science, while ey are adding figure to figure, and cipher to cipher, oping for a new contract from a new armament, and imputing the profits of a siege or a tempest.

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Continuation of Mr. ERSKINE'S Defence of PAINE, and of The Liberty of the Press, from page 193.]

THE Attorney General, throughout the whole ourse of his address to you (I knew it would be so), as avoided the most distant notice or hint of any incumstance having led to the appearance of the author in the political world, after a silence of so many years; he has not even pronounced or even danced at the name of Mr. Burke, but has lest you take it for granted, that the Desendant volunteered his delicate and momentous subject; and that without being led to it by the provocation of political controversy, he had seized a favourable moment to signatize, from mere malice, and against his own construed opinions, the constitution of this country.

Gentlemen, my learned friend knows too well my repect and value for him to suppose that I am charging
im with a wilful suppression; I know him to be incapable of it; he knew it would come from me. He
will permit me, however, to lament that it should be

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left for me, at this late period of the cause, to in form you, that, not only the Work before you, but the First Part, of which it is a natural continuation, were written avorvedly, and upon the face of then, IN ANSWER TO MR. BURKE. They were writed besides under circumstances which I shall hereaster explain, and in the course of which explanation ! may have occasion to cite a few passages from the Works of that celebrated perfon. And I shall speak of him with the highest respect; for, with whatever contempt he may delight to look down upon my humble talents, however he may disparage the principles which direct my public conduct, he shall never force me to forget the regard which this country owes to him for the Writings which he has left upon record for the illumination of our most distant poste. rity. After the gratitude which we owe to God for the divine gifts of reason and understanding our next thanks are due to those, from the fountain of whose enlightened minds they are fed and fructified, But pleading, as I do, the cause of freedom of opinions, I shall not give offence by remarking, that this great Author has been thought to have changed fome of his; and, if Thomas Paine had not thought fo, I should not now be addressing you, because the Book, which is my fubject, would never have been Who is right and who is wrong, in the contention of doctrines, I have repeatedly disclaimed to be the question; I can only fay, that Mr. Paine may be right throughout, but that Mr. Burke cannot-Mr. Paine has been uniform in his opinions, but Mr. Burke has not-Mr. Burke can only be right in part; but, should Mr. Paine be even miltaken in the whole, still I am not removed from the principle of his defence. My defence has nothing to do with either the concealment or rectitude of his doctrines. I admit Mr. Paine to be a Republican; you shall soon see, what made him one-I do not feek to shade or qualify his attack upon our constitution; the aid

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ion; I put my defence on no such matter-he unubtedly means to declare it to be defective in its ms, and contaminated with abuses, which in his Igment, will one day or other bring on the ruin us all: it is in vain to mince the matter; this is fcope of his Work. But still, if it contains no ack upon the King's majesty, nor upon any other ing magistrate; if it excites to no refistance to giltracy; but, on the contrary, if it even in-leates, as it does, obedience to government, then, natever may be its defects, the question continues before, and ever must remain an unmixed question THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS. I therefore coner it as no breach of professional duty, nor inrious to the cause I am defending, to express my on admiration of the real principles of our constition-a constitution which I hope never to see give ay to any other—a constitution which has been oductive of various benefits, and which willoduce many more hereafter, if we have wisdom lough to pluck up those weeds that grow in the thest foils, and among the brightest flowers. ree with the merchants of London, that the English wernment is equal to the reformation of its own puses; and, as an inhabitant of the city, I would we fighed their declaration, if I had known, of y own knowledge, the facts recited in its preamble. ut abuses the English constitution unquestionably as which call loudly for reformation, the existence which has been the theme of our greatest statesen, which have too plainly formed the principles the Defendant, and created the very conjecture hich produced this Book.

Gentlemen, we all but too well remember the alamitous fituation in which our country stood but few years ago—a fituation which no man can look ack upon without horror, nor feel himfelf safe from elapsing into it again, while the causes remain which produced it. The event I allude to, you nust know to be the American war, and the still

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existing causes of it, the corruption of this Govern In those days it was not thought virtue the Patriots of England to conceal their existence from the people; but then, as now, authority con denmed them, as disaffected subjects, and deseated the ends they fought by their promulgation.

Hear the opinion of Sir George Saville; -not his speculative opinion concerning the structure of on government in the abstract, but his opinion of the feet tled abuses which prevailed in his own time, and which continue at this moment. But first let me to mind you who Sir George Saville was-I fear we shall hardly look upon his like again-How shall describe him to you?—In my 'own words I cannot I was lately commended by Mr. Burke, in the House of Commons, for strengthening my own language by an appeal to Dr. Johnson. Were the honourable gentleman present at this moment, he would no doub doubly applaud my choice in reforting to his own Works for the description of Sir George Saville:

"His fortune is among the largest; a fortune which, wholly unincumbered as it is, without on

" fingle charge from luxury, vanity, or excess, fink

" under the benevolence of its diffeenser. This pile

vate benevolence, expending itself into patriotism renders his whole being the offate of the public, "

which he has not referved a peculium for himself of

or profit, diversion or relaxation. During the letton

the first in, and the last out of the House of Com-

mons; he passes from the senate to the camp

" and, feldom feeing the feat of his ancestors, he i always in parliament to ferve his country, or in the

" field to defend it."

It is impossible to ascribe to fuch a character any principal but patriotifm, when he expresses himself a follows:

" I return to you baffled and dispirited, and I am " forry that truth obliges me to add, with hardly a

aray of hope of feeing any change in the miserable

course of public calamities. On this melancholy lay of account, in rendering up to you my trust, deliver to you your share of a country maimed ind weakened; its treasure lavished and mispent; ts honours faded; and its conduct the laughingtock of Europe: our nation in a manner without allies or friends, except such as we have hired to destroy our fellow-subjects. and to ravage a country, in which we once claimed an invaluable share. I return to you some of your principal privileges impeached and mangled. And, laftly, I leave you, as I conceive, at this hour and moment fully, effectually, and absolutely, under the discretion and power of a military force, which is to act without vaiting for the authority of the civil magistrates. Some have been accused of exaggerating the public misfortunes, nay, of having endeavoured to help forward the mischief, that they might afterwards raife discontents. I am willing to hope, that neither my temper, nor my fituation in life, will be thought naturally to urge me to promote mifery, discord, or confusion, or to exult in the Subversion of order, or in the ruin of property. I have no reason to contemplate with pleasure the poverty of our country, the increase of our debts, and of our taxes; or the decay of our commerce.—Trust not, however, to my report.: reflect, compare, and judge for yourselves.

"But, under all these disheartening circumstances, I could yet entertain a chearful hope, and undertake again the commission with alacrity, as well as zeal, if I could see any effectual steps taken to remove the original cause of the mischies.— Then

would there be a hope.'

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"But, till the purity of the constituent body, and thereby that of the representation be restored, there is NONE.

"I gladly embrace this most public opportunity of delivering my fentiments, not only to all my constituents,

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constituents, but to those likewise not my constituents, whom yet, in the large sense, I represent

" and am faithfully to ferve.

"I look upon restoring election and representation in some degree (for I expect no miracles)

their original purity, to be that without which other efforts will be vain and ridiculous.

"If fomething be not done, you may, indeed, to tain the outward form of your Constitution, but

" not the power thereof.

(To be continued.)

ON THE AUTHORITY OF ONE COUNTR OVER ANOTHER.

By Dr. PRICE.

'ROM the nature and principles of Civil Libert it is an immediate and necessary inference the no one community can have any power over the pr perty or legislation of another community, that not incorporated with it by a just and adequate t presentation.—Then only, is a state free, when it governed by its own will. But a country that is in ject to the legislature of another country, in which has no voice, and over which it has no controll, ca not be faid to be governed by its own will. Such country, therefore, is in a state of slavery. And deferves to be particularly confidered, that fuch flavery is worse, on several accounts, than any slave of private men to one another, or of kingdoms despots within themselves.—Between one state a another, there is none of that fellow-feeling th takes place between persons in private life. Bei detached bodies that never fee one another, and fiding perhaps in different quarters of the globe, t

te that governs cannot be a witness to the suffers occasioned by its oppressions; or a competent ige of the circumstances and abilities of the peowho are governed. They must also have, in a eat degree, separate interests; and the more the one loaded, the more the other may be eased. amy likewise of oppression, being in such circumnces shared among a multitude, is not likely to be uch felt or regarded. On all these accounts there in the case of one country subjugated to another, tle or nothing to check rapacity; and the most grant injuffice and cruelty may be practifed withremorfe or pity. I will add, that it is particumy difficult to shake off a tyranny of this kind. igle despot, if a people are unanimous and resote, may be foon fubdued. But a despotic state is not fily fubdued; and a people fubject to it cannot emanpate themselves without entering into a dreadful, d, perhaps, very unequal contest.

Icannot help observing farther, that the slavery of people to external despots may be qualified and lited; but I don't see what can limit the authority of a state over another. The exercise of power in this secan have no other measure than discretion; and,

orted by a military force; and, without fuch a suport, must be destitute of all weight and efficiency.

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A LESSON FOR DARING FUBLISHERS.

he Proprietors of the Morning Chronicle were profecuted, and tried the 9th of December, 1793, for publishing in their Paper the following Address, and the Jury, after a conscientious No. XX.

Struggle

Struggle of Fifteen Hours! returned a Verdict of NOT GUILTY. It is therefore inferted in the Publication as a Specimen of what the Free BORN SONS OF OLD ENGLAND may no longe publish with Safety.

THE DERBY ADDRESS.

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At a Meeting of the Society for Political Information held at the Talbot Inn, in Derby, July 16th, 1797 the following Address, declaratory of their Principle Sc. was unanimously agreed to, and ordered to printed:

To the Friends of Free Enquiry, and the General Good

FELLOW CITIZENS,

LAIMING it as our indefeasible right to affocia together, in a peaceable and friendly manner, for the communication of thoughts, the formation of on nions, and to promote the general happiness, we thin it unnecessary to offer any apology for inviting you join us in this manly and benevolent purfuit; then ceffity of the inhabitants of every community ende vouring to procure a true knowledge of their right their duties, and their Interests, will not be denie except by those who are the slaves of prejudice, the interested in the continuation of abuses. As m who wish to aspire to the title of Freemen, we total deny the wisdom and the humanity of the adviceto approach the defects of government with "pio awe and trembling folicitude." What better dodri could the Pope, or the Tyrants of Europe defire? think, therefore, that the cause of truth and justi can never be hurt by temperate and honest discussion and that cause which will not bear such a scruting must be fystematically or practically bad. We fensible that those who are not friends to the gene g00

ood, have attempted to inflame the public mind ith the cry of "Danger," whenever men have affojated for discussing the principles of government; nd we have little doubt but such conduct will be purned in this place; we would therefore caution every man, who has really the welfare of the nation theart, to avoid being led away by the proftituted lamours of those who live on the sources of corrupion. We pity the fears of the timorous, and we are otally unconcerned respecting the false alarms of the enal. - We are in the pursuit of truth, in a peaceble, calm, and unbiaffed manner; and whereever we ecognize her features, we will embrace her as the ompanion of happiness, of wisdom, and of peace. This is the mode of our conduct: the reasons for it will be found in the following declaration of our opiions, to the whole of which each member gives his earty affent.

DECLARATION.

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I. That all true Government is instituted for the coeral good; is legalized by the general will; and liss actions are, or ought to be, directed for the general happiness and prosperity of all honest citizens.

II. That we feel too much not to believe, that leep and alarming abuses exist in the British Government, yet we are at the same time fully sensible, that we situation is comfortable, compared with that of the people of many European kingdoms; and that as the times are in some degree moderate, they ought to be free from riot and consustion.

III. Yet we think there is fufficient cause to enpire into the necessity of the payment of seventeen millions of annual taxes, exclusive of poor rates, county mes, expences of collection, &c. &c. by seven millions of people; we think that these expences may be reduced, without lessening the true dignity of the mation, or the government; and therefore wish for satisfaction in this important matter.

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IV. We view with concern the frequency Wars. - We are persuaded that the interests of poor can never be promoted by accession of territo when bought at the expence of labour and bloo and we must fay, in the language of a celebral author,-" We, who are only the people, but w pay for wars with our fubstance and our blood, not cease to tell Kings, or Governments, t to them alone wars are profitable: that the true fust conquests are those which each makes at hon by comforting the peafantry, by promoting agric ture and manufactories: by multiplying men, and other productions of nature; that then it is that Kin may call themselves the image of God, whose will perpetually directed to the creation of new being If they continue to make us fight and kill one anoth in uniform, we will continue to write and spea until nations shall be cured of this folly."-We certain our present heavy burthens are owing, in great measure, to cruel and impolitic wars, and the fore we will do all on our part, as peaceable citize who have the good of the community at heart, enlighten each other, and protest against them.

V. The present state of the representation of People, calls for the particular attention of eve man, who has humanity fufficient to feel for the nour and happiness of his country; to the defects a corruptions of which we are inclined to attribute unit cessary Wars, &c. &c. We think it a deplorable of when the poor must support a corruption which is cal lated to oppress them; when the labourer must give money to afford the means of preventing him havi a voice in its disposal; when the lower classes m fay. - "We give you our money, for which we ha toiled and fweat, and which would fave our famil from cold and hunger; but we think it more ha that there is nobody whom we have delegated, to that it is not improperly and wickedly spent: have none to watch over our interests; the rich of

re represented."—" The form of Government fince he Revolution, is in some respects, changed for the rote: by the triennial and septennial acts we lost noval Parliaments: befides which, the wholefome novision for obliging Privy Counsellors to subscribe heir advice with their names, and against Placemen nd Pensioners fitting in Parliament, have been repeal-It is faid, that the voice of the people is the onfitutional controul of Parliament, but what is this ut faying, that the Representatives are naturally infined to support wrong measures, and that the peohe must be constantly assembling to oblige them to do heir duty. An equal and uncorrupt representation fould, we are perfuaded, fave us from heavy expences, ad deliver us from many oppressions, we will therebre do our duty to procure this reform, which appears

ous of the utmost importance.

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VI. In short, we see with the most lively concern, narmy of Placemen, Pensioners, &c. fighting in the and of corruption and prejudice, and spreading the ontagion far and wide;—a large and highly expen-ive military, establishment, though we have a well egulated militia; — the increase of all kinds of roberies, riots, executions, &c. though the nation pays axes equal to the whole land rental of the kingdom, norder to have its property protected and fecured; ad is also obliged to enter into separate associations gint felonious depredations. — A criminal code of ans fanguine and inefficacious. — a civil code fo vo-minous and mysterious as to puzzle the best underhadings; by which means, justice is denied to the poor, account of the expence attending the obtaining of ;-corporations under ministerial or party influence, vallowing up the importance, and acting against the nice of the people; — penalties inflicted on those the accept of offices without conforming to the viothin of their consciences and their rights; the voice offee enquiry drowned in profecutions, and the clanon of the pensioned and interested; and we view,

X 3 with

with the most poignant forrow, a part of the peop deluded by a cry of the Constitution and Church danger, fighting with the weapons of favages, und the banners of prejudice, against those who have the true interest at heart ;-we see with equal sensibili the present outcry against reforms, and a cruel proc mation (tending to cramp the liberty of the preis, a discredit the true friends of the people) receiving t fupport of numbers of our countrymen; -we fee t continuation of oppressive game laws and destructi monopolies; -we fee the education and comfort of t poor neglected, notwithstanding the enormous weigh of the poor rates;—we fee burthens multiplied—t lower classes finking into poverty, difgrace and e cesses, and the means of these shocking abuses increase for the purposes of revenue;—for the same end, Exc Laws, those badges and fources of oppression, ke up and multiplied.—And when we cast our eyes on people inft formed in a free community, without ha ing had time to grow rich, under a Government which justice is duly administered, the poor taug and comforted, properly protected, taxes few and ea and that at an expence as fmall as that of our penfi list—we ask ourselves—" Are we in England?—Ha our forefathers fought, and bled, and conquered liberty?—And did not they think that the fruits their patriotism would be more abundant in pea plenty, and happiness?—Are we allways to stand s or go backwards?—Are our burthens to be as hea as the most enslaved people?—Is the condition of poor never to be improved?" Great Britain m have arrived at the highest degree of national hap ness and prosperity, and our fituation must be too go to be mended, or the present outcry against resor and improvements is inhuman and criminal. But hope our condition will be speedily improved, and obtain fo defirable a good is the object of our prese Affociation; an union founded on principles of be volence and humanity; disclaiming all connecti ith riot and disorder, but firm in our purpose, and

arm in our affections for liberty.

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ecti w VII. Lastly—We invite the friends of freedom broughout Great Britain to form similar Societies, and to act with unanimity and firmness, till the peole be too wife to be imposed upon; and their influmee in the government be commensurate with their ignity and importance,

THEN SHALL WE BE FREE AND HAPPY.

By Order of the Society, S. EYRE, Chairman.

ODE TO HUMAN KIND.

From Dodsley's Poems.

Is there, or do the Schoolmen dream?
Is there on earth a power supreme,
The Delegate of Heaven?
To whom an uncontroll'd command,
In ev'ry realm, o'er seas and land,
By special grace is given?

Then say what signs this God proclaim?

Dwells he amidst the diamond's flame,

A throne his hallow'd shrine?
Alas! the pomp, the arm'd array,
Want, fear, and impotence betray,
Strange proofs of power divine!!!

If service due from human kind,
To men in SLOTHFUL ease reclin'd,
Can form a sovereign's claim,
Hail Monarchs! ye whom Heaven ordains,
Our toils unshar'd—to share our gains,
YEIDIOTS BLIND and LAME!

Superior

Superior virtue, wisdom, might,
Create and mark the Ruler's right,
So REASON must conclude—
Then thine it is, to whom belong,
The wise, the virtuous, and the strong,
THRICE SACRED MULTITUDE.

In thee, vast ALL! are these contain'd,
For these are those, thy parts ordain'd,
So Nature's systems roll:
The sceptre's thine, it such there be,
If none there is—then thou art free,

GREAT MONARCH! MIGHTY WHOLE!

Let the proud Tyrant rest his cause on Faith, Prescription, Force, or Laws,

An host's or fenate's voice, His voice affirms thy stronger due, Who for the many made the few, 'And gave the species choice.

Unfanctify'd by thy command,
Unown'd by thee, the fcepter'd hand,
The trembling flave may bind;
But loofe from Nature's moral ties,
The oath by force impos'd, belies

The unaffenting mind.

THY WILL's thy rule—thy good its end; You punish only to defend

What parent Nature gave; And he who dare her gifts invade, By Nature's oldest law is made, Thy victim or thy slave.

Thus Reason sounds the just decree, On universal Liberty,

Not private rights refign'd:
Through various Nature's wide extent,
No private beings e'er were meant,
To hurt the Gen'ral kind,

Avails it thee, if ONE devours,

Or LESSER spoilers share his powers,

While BOTH thy claim oppose?

Monsters who wore thy fully'd crown,

Tyrants who pull'd those monsters down,

Alike to thee were foes!

Far other shone fair Freedom's band,
Far other was the immortal stand,
When Hampden fought for thee:
They snatch'd stom rapine's grief thy spoils,
The fruits and prize of glorious toils,
Of arts and industry.

The foes, with fronts of brass, invade;
Thy friends afford a timid aid,
And yield up half thy right?
Ev'n Locks, beams forth a mingled ray,
Afraid to pour the flood of day,
On man's too feeble sight.

O! shall the bought and buying tribe,
The flaves who take and deal the bribe,
A people's claims enjoy!
So India murd'rers hope to gain,
The pow'rs and virtues of the slain,
Of wretches they destroy.

"Avert it Heav'n! you love the brave,
"You hate the treach'rous willing flave,
"The felf-devoted head;

"Nor shall an hireling's voice convey,
"That facted prize to lawless sway,
"For which a nation bled."

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The very Age and Body of the Time its Form
And Pressure.

For comments pray don't look;
For whatfoe'er we think
In these informing times
We scarce dare shrug or wink!

Sweet fauce for Old English Roast Beef!!!

Don't open your mouth at me, fellow.

DUKE OF YORK'S ARMY.

Head Quarters, Tournay, Dec. 13, 1793.

Host, and all other religious processions. He direct that all centinels carry their arms when any religion procession is passing; and demands the attention of officers, but particularly of those on duty, to preve the smallest impropriety being committed on the occasions.

His Royal Highness is confident, that the troo under his command will ever bear in mind, it though we differ in some of the ceremonies of the gion, we unite with our gallant allies; and it is o glory to do so, in every sentiment of devotion to o CREATOR, and attachment and loyalty to our S VEREIGNS.

Extract of a Letter from Mons, to the Convention, dated December 12.

"We fend you a list of the famous Relics take from the Rebels.——I. The HEAD of St. Char Borrom romu. 2. BLESSED STUFFS! found in the ine of St. Dennis. 3. Papers to PROVE that the LICS of St. Vincent are GENUINE. 4. A OTH of the LOWER Faw of St. Vincent. 5. A of the Head and the Hair of St. Guignelot. 6. A ICE of the Robe of the Holy Virgin. 7. A ICE of the FROCK of the Infant Jesus. 8. The ULL of St. Sebastian. 9. The GRIDIRON of St. Wience. 10. A Piece of the TRUE Cross. 11. Tavo ils of the MILK of the Most Holy Virgin."
The perusal of this List produced much laughter.

Monday, December 16, 1793.

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A Deputation from the Commune of DIJON inmed the Convention, that various SAINTS of
TH Sexes, GOLD and SILVER, would arrive in a
redays. We gave them nothing to eat on the road,
I the Orator, because we are told they can change
me to bread, and water to wine. We asked what
ad of carriage they would chuse? To which they
lied, That, being Saints of Burgundy, they should
ther wine casks; and in two or three days you will
receive them, with flaggons once thought sacred.
Incourable mention, and insertion in the Bulletin.)

A PANEGYRIC!

A SAFE MORSEL FOR THE PIGS.

FROM CATO'S LETTERS.

WE have at last, by the bounteous gift of induigent Providence, a most excellent King, if a wife and uncorrupt Parliament; and yet—But hat shall I say, or what shall be left unsaid? I will go on.—We have a Prince, I say, who is pol of every virtue which can grace and adorn a cra a Parliament too, than whom England has chosen one better disposed to do all those the which every honest man in it wished, and called and yet—by the iniquity of the times, or the quities of particular men, we are still to expect deliverance, though I hope we shall not expect deliverance, though I hope we shall not expect

long.

Public corruptions and abuses have grown upor fees in most, if not in all offices, are immensel creased: places and employments, which ough to be sold at all, are sold for treble values: the cessities of the public have made greater imposs unavoidable, and yet the public has run very in debt; and as those debts have been encreasing the people growing poor, salaries have been mented, and pensions multiplied: I mean in last reign, for I hope that there have been no doings in this.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF FRAN

[Concluded from page 212.]

OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

62. THERE is one Executive Council comp

of twenty-four members.

63. The Electoral Assembly of each Departm nominates one Candidate. The Ligislative I chooses the Members of the Council from the gen list.

64. One half of it is renewed by each Legislat

in the last month of the session.

65. The Council is charged with the direction superintendance of the general Administration.

por the swinish multitude. 241

on act, but in execution of the laws and decrees
the Legislative Body.

It inominates, not of its own body, the Agents
the fof the general Administration of the Republic.

The Legislative Body determines the number,
the functions of these Agents.

These Agents do not form a Council. They

these Agents do not form a Council. They parated, without any immediate correspondence ten them; they exercise no personal authority.

The Council nominates, not of its own body,

riternal Agents of the Republic.

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the Members of the Council, in case of maltion, are accused by the Legislative Body.

t. The Council is responsible for the non-execution are and decrees, and for abuses which it does not conce.

It recals and replaces the agents in its nomi-

It is bound to denounce them, if there be oc-

THE CONNECTION OF THE EXECU-TIVE COUNCIL WITH THE LEGISLA-TIVE BODY.

The Executive Council resides near the Legiwe Body. It has admittance and a separate seat be place of sittings.

6. It is heard as often as it has an account to give.
7. The Legislative Body calls it into the place of strings, in whole or in part, when it thinks fit.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND MUNI-

Municipal Administration in each mune of the Republic; in each District an interdiate Administration; In each Department a central Administration.

79. The

79. The Municipal Officers are elected by the Assemblies of the Commune.

So. The Administrators are nominated by the Electoral Assemblies of Department and District.

81. The Municipalities and the Administration

are renewed, one half, every year.

82. The Administrators and Municipal Officen have no character of representation; they cannot any case, modify the acts of the Legislative Body, a suspend the execution of them.

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83. The Legislative Body determines the fundion of the Municipal Officers, and Administrators, the rules of their subordination, and the penalties the

may incur.

84. The fittings of Municipalities and Admininations are public.

OF CIVIL JUSTICE.

85. The code of civil and criminal laws is unifor for all the Republic.

86. No infringement can be made of the new which Citizens have to cause their differences to pronounced upon by arbitrators of their choice.

87. The decision of these arbitrators is final, if the Citizens have not reserved the right of objectings them.

88. There are Justices of Peace, elected by a Citizens in circuits determined by the law.

89. They conciliate and judge without expense.

90. Their number and their competence are my lated by the Legislative Body.

91. There are public Arbitrators elected by

Electoral Assemblies.

92. Their number and their circuits are fixed

the Legislative Body.

93. They take cognizance of disputes which is not been finally determined by the private Amit tors of the Justice of Peace.

94. They deliberate in public; they give the opinions aloud; they pronounce, in the last resont

erbal defences, or fimple memorials, without procetres, and without expence; they affign the reasons their decision.

95. The Justices of Peace and the Public Arbitra-

is are elected every year.

OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

96. In criminal cases, no Citizen can be tried, but an examination received by a Jury, or decreed by a Legislative Body; the accused have Counsel chosen themselves, or nominated officially; the process public; the fact and the intention are declared by a ry of judgment; the punishment is applied by a iminal tribunal.

97. The Criminal Judges are elected every year

the Electoral Assemblies.

OF THE TRIBUNAL OF APPEAL.

98. There is one Tribunal of Appeal for all the

epublic.

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ort,

99. This Tribunal does not take cognizance of the crits of the case: It pronounces on the violation of rms, and on express contravention of the law.

100. The Members of the Tribunal are nominated

ery year by the Electoral Assemblies.

of PUBLIC CONTRIBUTIONS.

101. No Citizen is exempted from the honourable bligation of contributing to the public charges.

OF THE NATIONAL TREASURY.

102. The National Treasury is the central point the receipts and expences of the Republic.

103. It is administered by accountable agents, no-

inated by the Executive Council.

oners nominated by the Legislative Body, not of its wn members, and responsible for abuses which they not denounce.

OF ACCOUNTABILITY.

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Treatury and the Administrators of the public money are given in annually to responsible Commissioners,

nominated by the Executive Council.

not of its own members, and responsible for errors and abuses which they do not denounce; the Legislative Body passes the accounts.

OF THE FORCES OF THE REPUBLIC.

107. The general forces of the Republic is composed of the whole people.

108. The Republic maintains in its pay, even in time of peace, an armed force, by fea and by land,

100. All the French are foldiers; they are all exercised in the use of arms.

110. There is no Generalissimo.

and subordination, subsist only with relation to service, and during its continuance.

order and peace in the interior, does not act but on the requisition in writing, of the constituted autho-

rities.

113. The public force employed against enemies from without, acts under the orders of the Executive Council.

114. No armed bodies can deliberate.

OF NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

ments, the tenth of the Primary Assemblies of each regularly formed, demand the revision of the Constitutional Act, or the change of some of its articles the Legislative Body is bound to convoke all the Primary Assemblies of the Republic, to know if there be ground for a National Convention.

EOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE. 245

116. The National Convention is formed in the ame manner as the Legislatures, and unites in itself heir powers.

117. It employs itself, with respect to the Constiution, only on the objects which were the cause of

ts convocation.

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OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC WITH FOREIGN NATIONS.

118. The French people is the friend and the na-

ural ally of every free people.

other nations. It does not fuffer other nations to interfere in its own.

120. It gives an asylum to foreigners, banished from their country for the cause of liberty; it resuses it to tyrants.

121. It does not make peace with an enemy, that

occupies its territory.

OF THE GUARANTEE OF RIGHTS.

122. The Constitution guarantees to all the French, equality, liberty, safety, property, the public debt, the free exercise of worship, a common instruction, public succours, the indefinite liberty of the press, the right of petition, the right of meeting in popular societies, the enjoyment of all the rights of man.

123. The French Republic honours loyalty, coutage, age, filial piety, misfortune. It puts the deposit of its constitution under the guard of all the virtues.

124. The Declaration of Rights and the Constitutional Act are engraven on tables, in the bosom of the Legislative Body, and in the public places.

DURAND-MAILLANE, DUCOS,
MEAULLE, CH. DELACROIX,
COSSUIN, P. A. LALOY,

Secretaries.

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Against the natural Encroachments of Power.

From CATO'S LETTERS.

DEOPLE are ruined by their ignorance of Human Nature; which ignorance leads them to credu. lity, and too great a confidence in particular men. They fondly imagine that he, who, possessing a great deal by their favour, owes them great gratitude, and all good offices, will therefore return their kindness: But, alas! how often are they mistaken in their favourites and trustees; who, the more they have given them, are often the more incited to take all, and to return destruction for generous usage. The common people generally think that great men have great minds, and fcorn base actions; which judgment is to false, that the basest and worst of all actions have been done by great men: Perhaps they have not picked private pockets, but they have done worse; they have often disturbed, deceived, and pillaged the world: And he who is capable of the highest mischiel, is capable of the meanest: He who plunders a country of a million of money, would in suitable circumstances steal a filver spoon; and a conqueror, who steals and pillages a kingdom, would, in an humbler fortune, rifle a portmanteau, or rob an orchard.

Political jealoufy, therefore, in the people, is a necessary and laudable passion. But in a chief magistrate, a jealoufy of his people is not so justifiable, their ambition being only to preserve themselves; whereas it is natural for Power to be striving to enlarge itself, and to be encroaching upon those who have none. The most laudable jealousy of a magistrate is to be jealous far his people; which will shew that he loves them, and has used them well: But to be jealous of them, would denote that he has evil designs against them, and has used them ill. The people's

eople's jealousy tends to preserve Liberty; and the prince's to destroy it. Venice is a glorious instance of the former, and so is England; and all nations who tave lost their Liberty, are melancholy proofs of the atter.

Power is naturally active, vigilant and distrustful: which qualities in it push it upon all means and expelients to fortify itself, and upon destroying all opofition, and even all feeds of opposition, and make restless as long as any thing stands in its way. It vould do what it pleases, and have no check. Now ecause Liberty chastises and shortens Power, therefore lower would extinguish Liberty; and consequently liberty has too much cause to be exceeding jealous, ud always upon her defence. Power has many adantages over her; it has generally numerous guards, vany creatures, and much treasure; besides, it has we craft and experience, less honesty and innocence: and whereas Power can, and for the most part does ublist where Liberty is not, Liberty cannot sublist vithout Power; fo that she has, as it were, the enemy lways at her gates.

Some have faid, that Magistrates being accountable o none but God, ought to know no other restraint. but this reasoning is as frivolous as it is wicked; for 0.good man cares how many punishments and pealties lie in the way to an offence which he does ot intend to commit: A man who does not intend o commit murder, is not forry that murder is puished with death. And as to wicked men, their leing accountable to God, whom they do not fear, is o fecurity to us against their folly and malice; and o fay that we ought to have no feeurity against them, to insult common sense, and give the lie to the first aw of nature, that of felf-prefervation. Human eason says, that there is no obedience, no regard due o those rulers, who govern by no rule but their lust. such men are no rulers; they are outlaws, who, beng at defiance with God and man, are protected by

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no law of God, or of reason. By what precept, mon! or divine, are we forbid to kill a wolf, or burn an infected thip? Is it unlawful to prevent wickedness and mifery, and to refift the authors of them! Am crimes fanctified by their greatness? And is he who robs a country, and murders ten thousand, left a criminal than he who steals fingle guineas, and takes away fingle lives? Is there any fin in preventing, and restraining, or resisting the greatest sin that can be committed, that of oppressing and destroying mankind by wholefale? Sure there never were fuch open, fuch shameless, such felfish impostors, as the advocates for lawless power. It is a damnable fin to op. press them; yet it is a damnable fin to oppose them when they oppress, or gain by the oppression of other, When they are hurt themselves ever so little, or but think themselves hurt, they are the loudest of all men in their complaints, and the most outrageous in their behaviour: but when others are plundered, oppressed and butchered, complaints are fedition; and to feek redress is damnation. Is not this to be the author of all wickedness and falsehood?

To conclude: Power, without controul, appertain to God alone; and no man ought to be trusted with what no man is equal to. In truth, there are so many passions, and inconsistencies, and so much selsisting belonging to human nature, that we can scarce be no much upon our guard against each other. The only fecurity which we can have that men will be honed is to make it their interest to be honest; and the bed defence which we can have against their being knave is to make it terrible to them to be knaves. A there are many men wicked in some stations, who would be innocent in others; the best way is to make

wickedness unsafe in any station.

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DEFINITION OF LOYALTY,

Mr. TOPLADY, Vicar of Broad Hembury, Devon, in bis Church of England Vindicated, page 49.

Printed in 1769.

TRUE Loyalty extends to one's country, as well as to the prince: and to oppose tyranny, is no reach of Loyalty, but an effential branch of it. oyalty (as the very word imports) is such an attachent to king and people, as is founded on the LAWS: and an hair's breadth beyond LAW, true LOYAL-Y does not go. So allegience is obedience ad leges, CCORDING TO LAW. Whenever therefore (as as eminently the case in Mr. Prynn's time) a prince wer-steps law, Loyalty itself obliges a loyal people say to such a prince, as the Almighty to the sea, Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further."

The Meaning of the Word PENSION.

From Dr. Johnson's Dictionary.

AN allowance made to any one without an equialent. In England it is generally understood to lean pay given to a State-hireling for treason to is Country.

The Meaning of the Word PENSIONER.

From the fame Authority.

A Slave of State, hired by a stipend to obey his

In Britain's Senate he a feat obtains. And one more Pensioner St. Stephen gains.

POPE.

BURKE's

BURKE'S ADDRESS

TO THE

" SWINISH MULTITUDE!"

Tune, " Derry down, down," &c.

Y E vile Swinish Herd, in the Sty of Taxation, What would you be after?—disturbing the Nation?

Give over your grunting—Be off—To your Sty! Nor dare to look out, if a King passes by:

Get ye down! down! down!—Keep ye down!

Do ye know what a King is? By Patrick I'll tell
you;

He has Power in his Pocket, to buy you and fell you To make you all Soldiers, or keep you at work? To hang you, and cure you for Ham or Salt Pork!

Get ye down! &c.
Do you think that a King is no more than a Man?
Ye Brutish, Ye Swinish, irrational Clan?
I swear by his Office, his Right is divine,
To flog you, and feed you, and treat you like Swine

To be sure, I have said—but I spoke it abrupt— That "the State is defective and also corrupt." Yet remember I told you with Caution to peep,

Yet remember I told you with Caution to peep, For Swine at a Distance WE prudently keep— Get ye down! &

Now the Church and the State, to keep each other warm,

Are married together. And where is the Harm? How healthy and wealthy are Husband and Wise! But Swine are excluded the conjugal Life—

The State, it is true, has grown fat upon Swine, And Church's weak Stomach on TYTHE-Pig can dine;

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[ROMAN HISTORY, concluded from Page 189.]

M. GENUCIUS and C. Curtius being conful, the commons of Rome demand, that the plebeians may be admitted into the confulship; and, that the law, prohibiting patricians and plebeians from intermarrying, may be repealed. In support of this demand, Canuleius one of the tribunes of the people, thus delivered himself:—

"What an infult upon us is this! If we are not fo rich as the patricians, are we not citizens of Rome as well as they? Inhabitants of the fame country! Members of the same community? The nations bon dering upon Rome, and even strangers more remote, are admitted not only to marriages with us, but to what is of much greater importance, the freedom of the city. Are we, because we are commoners, to be worse treated than strangers? And when we do mand that the people may be free to beflow their of fices and dignities on whom they please, do we alk any thing unreasonable or new? Do we claim more than their original inherent rights? What occasion then for all this uproar, as if the universe was falling to ruin? They were just going to lay violent hands npon me in the fenate-honfe. What, mult this empire then be unavoidably overturned: mult Rome of necessity fink at once, if a plebeian, worthy of the office, should be raised to the consulship? The patricians, I am perfuaded, if they could, would deprive you of the common light. It certainly offend them that you breathe, that you fpeak, that you have the shapes of men. Nay, to make a commoner conful would be, fay they, a most enormous thing Numa Pompilius, however, without being so much a a Romen citizen, was made king of Rome. The elder Tarquin by birth not even an Italian, was, nevertheless, placed upon the throne. Servius Tullius the fon of a captive woman, (nobody knows who

is father was) obtained the kingdom, as the reward his wisdom and virtue. In those days, no man, in shom virtue shone conspicuous, was rejected or depiled on account of his race or defcent. And did the ate prosper the worse for that? Were not these rangers the very best of our kings? And, supposing ow, that a plebeian should have their talents and meit, must not he be suffered ro govern us? Must we ather chuse such governors as the decemvirs? Those xcellent magistrates, I think, were mostly patricias. But we find, that upon the abolition of the egal power, no commoner was chose to the confuate. And what of that ? Before Numa's time there rere no pontifices in Rome. Before Servius Tullius's ays, there was no cenfus, no division of the people nto clases and centuries. Whoever heard of confuls efore the expulsion of Tarquin the proud? Dicators, we all know, are of modern invention; and are the offices of tribunes; ædiles, questors. Vithin thefe ten years we have made decemvirs, and e have unmade them. Is nothing to be done but hat has been done before? That very law forbiding marriages of patricians with plebeians, is not hat a new thing? Was there any fuch law before he decemvirs enacted it? And a most shameful one is in a free state! Such marriages, it feems, would int the pure blood of the nobility! Why, if they link fo, let them take care to match their fifters and aughters with men of their own fort. No plebeian ill do violence to the daughter of a patrician. hole are exploits for our prime nobles. There is no eed to fear that we shall force any body into a conact of marriage. But, to make an express law to tohibit marriages of patricians with plebeians, what this, but to shew the utmost contempt of us, and to eclare one part of the community to be impure and nclean? Why don't they lay their wife heads tother to hinder rich folks from matching with our? They talk to us of the confusion there will be No. XXII, \mathbf{Z} in

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in families, if this statute should be repealed. I won. der they do not make a law against a commoner's living near a nobleman, or going the fame road that he is going, or being at the same seast, or appearing at the same market-place. They might as well pretend, that these things make confusion in families, a that inter-marriages will do it. Do not every one know, that the child will be ranked according to the quality of his father, let him be patrician or plebeian! In short, it is manifest enough, that we have nothing in view but to be treated as men and Citizens; nor can they who oppose our demand have any motive to do it; but the love of domineering. I would fain know of you, confuls and patricians, is the fovereign power in the people of Rome, or in you? I hope you will allow, that the people can, at their pleasure either make a law, or repeal one. And will you then, as foon as any law is proposed to them, pretend to lift them for the war, and hinder them from giving their suffrages, by leading them into the field? Hear me, consuls: Whether the news of the war you talk of be true, or whether it be only false rumour, spread abroad for nothing but a colour to fend the people out of the city; I declare, as tribune, that this people, who have already so often spilt their blood in our country's cause, are again ready to arm for its defence and its glory, if they b restored to their natural rights, and you will a longer treat us like strangers in our own country But if you account us unworthy of your alliance inter-marriages, if you will not fuffer the entrand to the chief offices in the state to be open to a perions of merit, indifferently, but will confine you chief mgistrates to the senate alone; talk of wars much as ever you please; paint in your ordinary di courses the league and power of our enemies to times more dreadful than you do now; I declare the this people, whom you so much despise, and whom you are nevertheless indebted for all you victorie

victories, shall never more enlist themselves; not a man of them shall take arms, nor a man of them shall expose his life for imperious lords, with whom he can neither share the dignities of the state, nor in

private tife have any alliance by marriage."

You have feen by the foregoing speeches, the proress of the struggles between the patricians and the lebeians, which continued for many years; the cople always encroaching more and more upon the rivileges of the patricians, till at length, all the reat offices of the state became equally common to he one and to the other. The following speech, which was spoken above an hundred years after the oregoing one, may ferve as an instance and a proof f that great simplicity of manners, public virtue, nd noble spirit, which raised that people to that eight of power and dominion, which they afteraids attained. The occasion of it was this. The larantines having a quarrel with the Romans, inthe Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to their affiftance, no lands with his forces in Italy, and defeats the oman army under the command of Lævinius. t this battle, Fabritius, with two other Roman nators, is fent to Tarentum to treat with Pyrrhus bout the exchange of prisoners. The king, being formed of the great abilities, and great poverty of abritius, hinted in a private conversation with him, e unsuitableness of such poverty to such distinished merit, and that if he would affist him to neciate with the Romans an honourable peace for e Tarentines, and go with him to Epirus, he would flow fuch riches upon him, as should put him at aft upon an equality with the most opulent nobles Rome. The answer of Fabritius was to this fect :-

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"As to my poverty, you have indeed Sir, been ghtly informed. My whole estate consists in a puse of but mean appearance, and a little spot of round, from which, by my own labour, I draw my Z 2 support.

fupport. But if, by any means, you have been per. fuaded to think that this poverty makes me less con. fidered in my own country, or in any degree unhappy, you are extremely deceived. I have no reason to complain of fortune, the supplies me with all that na. ture requires; and, if I am without superfluities, I am also free from the defire of them. With these, I confefs, I should be more able to succour the necessitous, the only advantage for which the wealthy are to be envied; but as my possessions are, I can still contribute fomething to the support of the state, and the affiftance of my friends. With regard to honours, my country places me, poor as I am, upon a level with the richest: For Rome knows no qualifications for great employments but virtue and ability. She appoints me to officiate in the most august ceremonies of religion; she entrusts me with the command of her armies; she confides to my care the most important negotiations. My poverty does not lessen the weight and influence of my counsels in the senate, the Roman people honour me for that very poverty which you confider as a difgrace; they know the many opportunities I have had in war to enrich myself without incurring censure; they are convinced of my interested zeal for their prosperity; and, if I have any thing to complain of in the return they make, it is only in the excess of their applause. What value then can I set upon your gold and filver! What king can add any thing to my fortune? Always attentive to discharge the duties incumbent on me, I have a mind free from self-reproach, and I have an honest fame."

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THE MARRIAGE ACT CENSURED.

From The Citizen of the World. By Goldsmith.

NOT far from this City lives a poof Tinker, who has educated feven fons, all at this time in arms, and fighting for their country, and what reward do ou think has the tinker from the state for such important services? none in the world; his sons, when he war is over, may probably be whipt from parish to arish as vagabonds, and the old man, when past laour, may die a prisoner in some house of correction.

Such a worthy subject in China would be held in niverfal reverence; his services would be rewarded, that with dignities, at least with an exemption from abour; he would take the lest hand at seasts, and handarines themselves would be proud to shew their abmission. The English laws punish vice, the Chinese

ws do more, they reward virtue!

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Considering the little encouragements given to maimony here, I am not surprised at the discouragetents given to propagation. Would you believe it, by dear Fum Hoam, there are laws made, which wen forbid the people's marrying each other. By the head of Consucius, I jest not; there are such laws being here; and their law-givers have neither been affructed among the Hottentots, nor imbibed their miniples of equity from the natives of Anamaboo.

There are laws which ordain, that no man shall sarry a woman contrary to her own consent. This, sough contrary to what we are taught in Asia, and sough in some measure a clog upon matrimony, I are no great objection to. There are laws which thain, that no woman shall marry against her father and mother's consent, unless arrived at an age of matrity; by which is understood those years, when soman with us are generally past child-bearing. This

Z 3 must

must be a clog upon matrimony, as it is more difficult for the lover to please three than one, and much more difficult to please old people than young ones. The laws ordain, that the consenting couple shall take a long time to consider before they marry; this is a very great clog, because people love to have all rash actions done in a hurry. It is ordained that all marriages shall be proclaimed before celebration: this is a severe clog, as many are ashamed to have their marriage made public, from motives of vicious modely, and many, astraid from views of temporal interest.

It is ordained, that there is nothing facred in the ceremony, but that it may be diffolved to all intents and purposes by the authority of any civil magistrate. And yet opposite to this it is ordained, that the priest shall be paid a large sum of money for granting his

facred permission.

Thus you fee, my friend, that matrimony here is hedged round with so many obstructions, that those who are willing to break through or surmount them, must be contented, if at last they find it a bed of thorns. The laws are not to blame, for they have deterred the people from engaging as much as they could. It is indeed become a very serious affair in England, and none but serious people are generally found willing to engage. The young, the gay, and the beautiful, who have motives of passion only to induce them, are seldom found to embark, as those inducements are taken away, and none but the old, the ugly, and the mercenary are seen to unite, who, if they have any posterity at all, will probably be an ill savoured race like themselves.

What gave rise to those laws might have been some such accidents as these. It sometimes happened, that a miser, who had spent all his youth in scraping up money, to give his daughter such a fortune as might get her a mandarine husband sound his expectations disappointed at last, by her running away with his sootman; this must have been a sad shock to the poor

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lemp B disconsolate parent, to see his poor daughter in a onehorse chaise, when he had designed her for a coach and six: what a stroke from providence!!! to see his dear money go to a beggar; all nature cried out at

he profanation!!!

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It fometimes happened also, that a lady, who had inherited all the titles, and all the nervous complaints of nobility, thought sit to impair her dignity, and mend her constitution, by marrying a farmer; this must have been a sad shock to her inconsolable relations, to see so sine a flower snatched from a flourishing family, and planted in a dunghill; this was an absolute inversion of the first principles of things!!!

In order, therefore, to prevent the great from being thus contaminated by vulgar alliances, the obstacles to matrimony have been so contrived, that the rich only can marry amongst the rich, and the poor, who would leave celebacy, must be content to increase their poverty with a wise. Thus have the laws fairly inverted the inducements to matrimony; nature tells us, that beauty is the proper allurement of those who are rich, and money of those who are poor; but things here are so contrived, that the rich are invited to marry by that fortune which they do not want, and the poor have no inducement, but that beauty which they do not feel.

An equal diffusion of riches through any country conflitutes its happiness. Great wealth in the possession of one stagnates, and extream poverty with another keeps him in unambitious indigence; but the moderately rich are generally active; not too far temoved from poverty, to fear its calamities; nor too near extreme wealth, to slacken the nerve of abour; they remain still between both, in a state of continual sluctuation. How impolitic, therefore, are those laws which promote the accumulation of wealth among the rich, more impolitic still, in attempting to encrease the depression on poverty.

Bacon, the English Philosopher, compares money

to manure; if gathered in heaps, fays he, it does no good; on the contrary, it becomes offensive; but, being spread, though never so thinly, over the surface of the earth, it enriches the whole country. Thus the wealth a nation possesses must expatiate, or it is of no benefit to the public, it becomes rather a grievance, where matrimonial laws thus confine it to a few.

But this restraint upon matrimonial community, even considered in a physical light, is injurious. As those who rear up animals take all possible pains to cross the strain, in order to improve the breed; so in those countries where marriage is most free, the inhabitants are found every age to improve in stature and in beauty; on the contrary, where it is confined to a cast, a tribe, or an hord, as among the Gaus, the Jews, or the Tartars, each division soon assumes a family likeness, and every tribe degenerates into peculiar deformity. From hence it may be easily inserved, that if the Mandarines here are resolved only to marry among each other, they will soon produce a posterity with Mandarine Faces: and we shall see the heir of some honourable samily scarce equal to the abortion of a country farmer.

These are a sew of the obstacles to marriage here, and it is certain they have in some measure answered the end; for celebacy is both frequent and sashionable. Old batchelors appear abroad without a mask, and old maids, my dear Fum Hoam, have been absolutely known to ogle. To confess in friendship, if I were an Englishman, I fancy I should be an old batchelor myself; I should never find courage to meather through all the adventures prescribed by the law. I could submit to court my mistress herself upon reasonable terms, but to court her father, her mother, and a long tribe of cousins, aunts, and relations, and then stand the butt of a whole country church, I would as soon turn tail, and make love to her grand-

mother.

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I can conceive no other reason for thus loading natrimony with fo many prohibitions, unless it be hat the country was thought already too populous, nd this was found to be the most effectual means of hinning it. If this was the motive. I cannot but ongratulate the wife projectors on the fuccess of heir scheme. Hail, O ye dim-sighted politicians, e weeders of men! 'Tis yours to clip the wing of ndustry, and convert hymen to a broker. ours to behold fmall objects with a microscopic eye, ut to be blind to those which require an extent of isson. 'Tis yours, O ye discerners of mankind, to ay the line between fociety, and weaken that force y dividing, which should bind with united vigour. Tis yours, to introduce national real distress, in rder to avoid the imaginary diffresses of a few. Your actions can be justified by an hundred easons like truth, they can be opposed but by ew reasons, and those reasons are true. Farevell.

I also will shew mine opinion .- JOB XXXII. ver. 10.

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THE RIGHTS OF MAN,

BY QUESTION AND ANSWER.

WHAT is Man?
An irrational, unfocial, cowardly, and overous animal.

Q. How do you prove he is irrational?

A. His actions are as much influenced by present affions and interests as are the actions of other animals deemed irrational.

Q. How

Q. How is it that he is unfocial?

A. His ridiculous pride makes him imagine him. felf in an infinite variety of ways superior to others of his species, and of course too noble for every company.

Q. Give fome inflances?

A. Some prefer themselves for being born of parents in this or that station, or in some particular country, or for being more tall, handsome, &c. and therefore resuse to associate with their supposed inferiors in these respects (excepting to serve some similar purpose), nor will they allow those despited people equal privileges.

Q. How do you make it appear, that man is a

cowardly animal?

A. Because he hunts in packs like hounds, the most cowardly of all dogs. He feldom attacks singly either his own or any other species without manifest superiority of situation or arms. When a company of them make a booty, they do not all boldly sall on to partake, each according to what his hunger or necessity requires, but sneakingly keep at a distance, till the strongest or most presumptuous think proper to allow them to partake.

Q. Do the herds of companies of other animals behave in the same timid manner to certain individuals

among them ?

A. By no means; they are not half fo complaisant. A company of hounds or wolves will partake equally of their prey, or else they will fight for it, and wage eternal war till they gain their rights. A hungry beast will attempt again and again, whereas mean have been frequently known to starve rather than help themselves to the common provisions of nature monopolized by their arrogant sellow-creatures.

Q. Do we not frequently fee a striking difference in sleekness and fatness among a herd of cattle seeding together in the same pasture, owing to the presumption of some of them driving away the weaker

animals from their victuals?

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A. No. None of them will submit to suffer thus at by others. The most voracious and mischievous will only fill his own belly. And while he is fighting and driving off one, another will have the assurance to come in for a share, and thus, either by orce or stealth, they are sure to partake pretty qually.

Q. Are not droves of hogs frequently feen passing brough London of different appearance among themelves; fome being hardly able to walk with fat, while others are like greyhounds for thinness?

A. No, never. Swine living together are all

like, either all fat or all lean.

Q. Are mankind living in the fame neighbour-

ood all of the fame liking too?

A. No; very far from it. Some are like to wift with fat and fatiety, while others appear ke shadows, and frequently die of want, and difases slowing from scarcity, or unwholsome diet.

Q. Did not Edmund Burke then very improperly

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A. Yes, he therein blundered most egregiously. or on very flight observation, he would find real wine to be more noble animals, and far from being o obsequeous. They will not quietly suffer want on ny account, much less by the encroachments of their ellow-creatures. If any great hog offer to thruit hem from the trough, they will fcream most fedioully, and will, without regard to consequence, in-It on having their nofes in, on one fide or the ther. Besides, if men were like swine, how would hey be drilled into foldiers? Could an army of logs be disciplined and marched against another my of hogs? No, they are not fo fond of armour ad trapping as to dance in them to their destruction. they leave such stupid bravery to the rational beng called Man. They do not understand slaying ach other for masters. They only know bravery in perfitting

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perfifting in what they think tends to their own happiness, and that they will most obstinately do. Mr. Burke must think of some other name for his filly brethren, for they will never have the sense of spirit to defend their Rights and Interests like Swine,—Thus much for the cowardliness of mankind above other animals.

Q. Have men no other way of shewing their peculiar meanness, than by tamely giving up their

Rights to the first usurper?

A. Yes. By infulting decrepid individuals of fmall numbers of their own species, when they are in company with other malicious beings like them selves. But this they never venture upon except emboldened by their numbers. No single man could ever yet venture to be insolent or witty upon another, without his own companions. As observed before, they are like hounds—they always hunt in packs.

Q. How does it appear that men are covetous

animals?

A. Nay, they are so much so, that this passion feems to be the source of all their other bad qualities. Other animals only covet till their present appetite is satisfied, and then leave the world in peace to others. But man is insatiable. He is like the grave, he never saith he hath enough.

Q. Does his covetousness induce him to take things not absolutely necessary to life, from his species

by force?

A. Yes: for the fake of mere superfluities to hoard up, and which are of no manner of use but to look at, he will destroy his fellow creatures in numbers to the utmost of his power.

Q. He is a vicious, dangerous, and detestable animal. Does he ever compel others of the species to toil for him, in procuring him food and raiment, and those superfluous articles which he covets?

A. Does he, aye. He was not long in the world

ill he reduced his fellows to flavery. He continues to do fo ftill, and while the world lasts he will coninue such injustice if the species do not acquire more pirit to refift the usurpations of each other. there is not univerfal and individual spirit to resist univerfal and individual prefumption and covetoufnefs, a great portion of men must always be in subection to the affurning few. For, mankind are not very likely to relinquish their injustice and avarice.

Q. What pity that they are not rational! For then might this universal injustice and covetousness spur them on to invent fome preventative against their common encroachments on the rights and properties

of each other?

A. Certainly. A small portion of reason might suffice for that purpose.

Q. What are the specific rights of the animal called

Man?

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A. Though the species, by their inconsistent behaviour to each other, may raife doubts concerning their rationality, yet, by their superior form of body, and inventive powers of mind, they feem qualified to turn all nature to their advantage, and may not improperly be termed the Lords of the Creation. And the Pfalmist (Pfal. viii. ver. 5.) fays, God has made man but a little lower than the angels, and crowned him with glory and honour. Has made him to have dominion over the works of his bands, and has put all things under his feet: All sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field; the forul of the air, and the fish of the sea. Again, in Pfal. cxv. ver. 16, it is faid, The Heaven, even the Heavens are the Lord's: BUT THE EARTH HATH HE CIVEN TO THE CHILDREN OF

Q. If then the earth be given to the children of men, what pity it is that they cannot agree on fome equitable mode of enjoying their common property, and be content to live and let live, like other creatures.?

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A. Nothing feems more easy than to devise fuel a mode, were men honest enough to be content with equality of rights and privileges.

Q. Whether fuch a plan may or may not be adopted, it ought to be presented to them, and the

they will be left without excuse?

A. There is no more requifire to render manking as happy as they can be on earth than simply this. That the people in every diffrict or parish should appoint collectors to receive the rents, and divide thein equally among themselves, or apply then to what public uses they may think proper.

Q. Can any tyranny or abuses flow from such a

principle?

A. No, none can exist where such a principle is adhered to.

Q. Ought every one to pay rent to those col.

A, Every one should pay according to the full value of the premises which he occupied, whether

Q. How would the value of those tenement &

known?

A. By letting them by public auction to the bell lidder.

Q. For how long a term would the public pro

A. For the life of the occupier, if he fo long make good his payments, that he might enjoy the freil of any improvements he might make during his m fidence.

Q. But what if an occupier or tenant should not VIO EL HTAS R

hake good his payments?

A. Then the parish agents would let the premise by public auction to the best bidder, that the people might receive no damage.

Q. Who would build and repair the houses, &c. ?

A. The parish agents, who would have to flate the accounts of these and all other expences to the per pie, by whose orders alone they could act. Q. Would

O. Would fuch a people pay taxes as usual for suport of the state, or would they supply the state

mmediately out of the parish rents ?

A. That they might do as they chose. If they nished not to be shackled by revenue laws, or effered by excisemen and informers, they would robably pay the state a sum of money as their note at once, and have done with it.

Q. Would such a people build bridges, make oads, or rather public works, with their money?

A. They might if they would.

LESSONS FOR PIG EATERS.

LASSON 1. From the General Epiftle of Junes.

Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you be-

LESSON 2 .- From Ditto, chap. v. ver. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your inferies that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth eaten. Your told and filver is cankered; and the rust of them hall be a witness against you, and shall eat your fiesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold, the bire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you tept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the lord of Sabaoth. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earts as in a day of slaughter. Ye have roude much hall ed the just; and he doth not refist you.

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LESSON 3.

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LESSON 3. From Amos, chap. ii. ver. 6.

Thus faith the Lord; for three transgressions of Ifrael, and for four, I will not turn away the punish. ment thereof; because they fold the righteous for filver, and the poor for a pair of shoes; that pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor, and turn afide the way of the meek.

or em d. h LESSON 4. From Ifaiah, chap. iii. ver. 12.

As for my people; children are the oppressors, and women rule over them. O my people, they which lead thee cause thee to err, and destroy the way of thy paths. The Lord standeth up to plead, and he standeth to judge the people. The Lord will enter into judgment with the Ancients of his people, and the Princes thereof: for ye have eaten up the vine yard: the spoil of the poor is in your houses. What mean ye, that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor? faith the Lord of Holts,

A Comparison between the AFRICAN SLAVES IN the West Indies, and the CELTIC SLAVE, Of SCALLAG, in some of the HEBRIDES.

-Book Diets, chap. V. week is as 30 to 56 for

the frequencies

From Travels in the Western Hebrides, by the Rev.
JOHN LANE BUCHANAN.

eronical di Continued from page 125.]

los, which is of you morft. to With regard to the respective conditions of theirolife an general, it is in neither case of their own chufing. The African is bereft of his freedom, and fold into flavery by fraud and violence. The Hebre dian Slave is, indeed, neither trapanned into flavery by guile wor compelled by physical compulsion; but he is drawn into it by a moral necessity equally invincible, LESCON 3, 8 8 6

960

pond his power to control, and which leave him no option, but either to ferwe forms maker as a Scallag, or to protract a miserable existence for some time in the forest, and near the uninhabited sea shores, where he may pick up some shell sish, to perish at last, with his wife, perhaps, and little ones, with cold and hunger.

adly. With regard to labour. The Negro generally works only from fix o'clock in the morning to fix in the evening; and out of that time he has two complete hours for rest and refreshment. The Scallag is at work from four o'clock in the morning

to eight nine, and fometimes ten at night.

3dly. With regard to respite from labour. The Negro is allowed two days in the week for himself—so is the Scallag: but the precepts of Religion allow the Scallag only one of these days to labour for his

own maintenance.

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4thly. With regard to food. The Negro has a plentiful allowance of fuch common fare as is sufficient for his support; besides his little spot of land which he cultivates for himself on Saturday and Sunday, aswell as in the evenings, after he has finished his master's work. The Scallag, when at hard labour for his master, is fed twice a day with water-gruel, or brochan, as it is called; or kail, or coleworts, with the addition of a barley cake or potatoes; and all this without falt. But, for his family, and for himfelf on Sundays, or when he is unable to work through bodily indisposition, he has no other means of subfiltence than what he can raise for himself, by the labour of one day out of feven, from a feanty portion of cold and moorish foil—barley, potatoes, coleworts, and perhaps a mileh cow, or a couple of ewes, for giving milk to his infants; though it often happens, that he is obliged to kill these bousehold gods, as it were, to prevent his family from flarwing. At certain feafons he has fish in abundance, but this he Aa a

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and often without falt. The Negro, if he be tole, tably industrious, can afford on Saturdays and other holidays, with pepper pot, a pig, or a turkey, and a cann of grog; nay, Negroes have been known to clear, besides many comforts for their own family, twenty, thirty, even forty pounds a year; so that there is a fair probability that a Negro may, be enabled to gain the price of his liberty. But, of relief from bondage and woe the Scallag has not a single ray of hope, on this side the grave.

Negro is comfortably lodged, in a warm climate, The Scallag is very poorly cloathed, and still more wretchedly lodged, in a cold one. And as the Negro is provided by his master with bedding and body clothes, so he is also furnished by him with the implements of husbandry. The Scallag, with sticks and sods, rears his own miserable hut, procures for himself a few rags, either by what little stax or wool he can raise, or by the resuse or coarser part of the furnished by his master, and provides his own work-

ing tools, as the spade, &c.

6thly. With regard to usage or treatment. The Slave is driven on to labour by stripes: so also is the Scallag; who is ever, on fome occasions, formally tied up, as well as the Negro, to a stake, and scourged on the bare back. The owner of the Slave, it may be farther observed, has a strong interest in his welfare; for if he should become fick or infirm, the master must maintain him; or if he should die, the master must supply his place at a considerable expense There is no fuch restraint on the peevish humours of angry passions of a Hebredian laird or tackiman. The Scallag, under infirmity, difense, and old age is fet adrift on the wide world, and begs his bread from door to door, and from island to island. Not is it necessary in order to supply the place of a Scallag to be at any expence; for the frequent failure of fettlements ettlments affords but too many recruits to the wretchd otder of Scallags. i tabbiyo al si baA

7thly. As there is nothing so natural as the love of iberty, and an aversion to restraint and oppression, he Scallag, as well as the Negro, sometimes attempts mancipation, by fleeing to the uninhabited parts of the country: though fuch attemps are not fo ofen made by the Scallags after they are enured to lavery, as when they feel themselves on the verge of inking into that dreadful and deferted condition of existence.

The only afylum for the distressed in the Long Island is the King's Forest; where several are sheltered with their families and cattle for the fummer feason; where they live in caves and dens of the earth; and subsist, without fire, on milk, the roots of the earth, and shell fish. But in the winter feafon, cold and famine drive them back again to feek for subfishence and shelter under the same tyranny that had driven them to the forest. The Blue or other mountains afford the means of life to runawaynegroes (if they can escape the search of their masters), both summer and winter.

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In the West Indies, no planter or captain of a vessel is allowed by the law of the Colonies, to kidnap, conceal, or keep any runaway flave, or by any means to detain him from his master. Here also the comparifon holds between the Slave and the Scallag. There is not a tacksman who will take or retain in his service, or on his land, either the Scallag or subtenant of another master, without a written certificate from that master, that the Scallag or subtenant has a good character; and also, if he be otherwise satisfied as to the character of the poor man, that his master is willing to part with him. For as the Colonists by their laws, so the Tacksmen of the Hebrides, by their country regulations, have entered into a firm compact, that no one shall harbour the subtenant or Scallag of another, who does not produce a proof

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of his humble and unlimited obedience to his form master. And it is evident from reason, were it me proved by experience, that certificates are most minheld when they are most wanted. For no ladden who is known to be cruel to his people will engive them certificates, because in that case the would all leave the tyrant, and seek for milder transment under some less severe master.

GENERAL POLITICAL APHORISMS, OF MAXIMS.

From HARRINGTON'S WORKS.

THE errors and fufferings of the people are from their governors.

The people cannot fee but they can feel..

Where the fecurity is no more than personal, the may be a good monarch, but can be no good commonwealth.

Where the fecurity is in the persons, the government makes good men evil: where the security is it form, the government makes evil men good.

Affemblies legitimately elected by the people, at that only party which can govern without an army.

Not the party which cannot govern without army, but the party which can govern without army, is the refined party, as to this intent and pupose truly refined; that is, by popular election, a cording to the precept of Moses, and the rule Scripture: take ye wise men, and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rule over you.

The people are deceived by names, but not things.

Where there is a well ordered commonwealth to people are generally fatisfied.

The

Where the people are generally distaissied, there no common-wealth.

Where civil liberty is entire, it includes liberty conscience.

Where liberty of conscience is entire it includes

Either liberty of conscience can have no security at , or under popular government it must have the

To hold that a government may be introduced by little at once, is to wave prudence, and commit

Government is of human prudence, and human udence is adequate to man's nature.

Where the government is not adequate to man's

ture, it can never be quiet or perfect.

A King governing now in England by an army, ould for the fame causes find the same effects with a late protector.

A king governing now in England by parliaments, ould find the nobility of no effect at all.

A parliament, where the nobility is of no effect at II, is a mere popular council.

A mere popular council will never receive law om a king.

A mere popular council giving law to a king, beomes thereby a democracy, or equal commonwealth; the difference is no greater than the imperfection of the form.

A commonwealth or democracy to be perfect in he form, must consist especially of such an assembly, he result whereof can go upon no interest whatsoever, but that only which is the common interest of the whole people.

An affembly confisting of a few, may go upon the attent of one man, as a king, or upon the interest of one party, as that of divines, lawyers, and the ke; or the interest of themselves, and the perpetution of their government.

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The popular affembly in a commonwealth may confift of too few, but can never confift of too many.

To make principles or fundamentals, belongs not

to men, to nations, nor to human laws.

To build upon such principles or fundamentals as are apparently laid by God in the inevitable necessity or law of nature, is that which truly appearant to men, to nations, and to human laws. To make any other fundamentals, and then build upon them, is to build castles in the air.

Whatever is violent, is not fecure nor durable;

whatever is fecure or durable is natural.

Government in the whole people, though the major part were disaffected, must be secure or durable, because it waves force, to found itself upon nature.

Government in a party, though all of these were well affected, must be insecure and transitory, becale it waves nature, to found itself upon force.

Commonwealths, of all other governments, at more especially for the preservation, not for the testruction, of mankind.

THE BANEFUL INFLUENCE OF DEPENDENCE ON THE MIND.

From The Citizen of the World, by Dr. Goldfmilb.

A MONG many who have enforced the duty of Giving, I am furprized there are none to incultrate the ignominy of Receiving, to shew that by every favour we accept, we in some measure forseit on native freedom, and that in a state of continual dependence on the generosity of others in a life of gradual debasement.

Were men taught to despise the receiving obligations with the same force of reasoning and declaration that they are instructed to confer them, we might

en see every person in society filling up the requite duties of his situation with chearful industry, ither relaxed by hope, nor sullen from disappoint-

Every favour a man receives, in some measure, iks him below his dignity, and in proportion to the value of the benefit, or the frequency of its acceptance, he gives up so much of his natural independence. He, therefore, who thrives upon the uncrited bounty of another, if he has any sensibility, if the worst of servitude; the shackled slave may unmur with our reproach, but the humble dependent taxed with ingratitude upon every symptom of distinct; the one may rave round the walls of his ill, but the other lingers in all the silence of mental minement. To encrease his distress, every new bligation but adds to the former load which kept to vigorous mind from rising; till at last, elastic no mager, it shapes itself to constraint, and puts on habitual servility.

ery out do

rà. ga ma It is thus with the feeling mind, but there are some ho, born without any share of sensibility, receive wour after savour, and still cringe for more, who cept the offer of generosity with as little reluctance the wages of merit, and even make thanks for past enests an indirect petition for new; such, I grant, an suffer no debasement from dependence, since key were originally as vile as was possible to be; ependence degrades only the ingenuous, but leaves the fordid mind in pristine meanness. In this maner, therefore, long continued generosity is misplaced, it is injurious; it either finds a man worthless, or makes him so; and true it is, that the person who contented to be often obliged, ought not to have

the sperhaps one of the severest missortunes of the reat, that they are in general, obliged to live among the whose real value is lessened by dependence, and shose minds are enslaved by obligation. The hum-

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ble companion may have at first accepted patronia with generous views, but foon he feels the mornifying influence of confcious inferiority, by degrees he fink into a flatterer, and from flattery at last degenerates into STUPID VENERATION. To remedy this, the great often difmis their old dependents, and take new. Such changes are falfely imputed to levity, falsehood, or caprice, in the patron, fince they may be more justly ascribed to the client's gradual do terioration, No, my fon, a life of independence is ge nerally a life of virtue. It is that which fits the fou for every flight of humanity, freedom, and friend Thip. To give should be our pleasure, but to receive our shame; serenity, health and affluence attend the defire of rifing by labour; mifery, repentance, and difrespect, that of succeeding by extorted benevo lence; the man who can thank himfelf alone for the happiness he enjoys, is truely so; and lovely, far mon lovely the flurdy gloom of laborious indigence, that the fawning simper of thriving adulation.

ON DOING GOOD TO OUR COUNTRY.

From SWIFT'S SERMONS.

Text-Gal. vi. ver. 10. As we have therefore of portunity, les us do good unto all men.

BUT, befide this love we owe to every man in this particular capacity under the title of neighbour, there is a duty of a more large and extensive nature incumbent on us; which is, our love to on neighbour in his public capacity, as he is a member of that great body the commonwealth; and this usually called love of the public, and is a duty which we are more strictly obliged than even that loving even ourselves; because therein ourselves at

If contained, as well as all our neighbours, in one reat body. This love of the public or of the commonwealth, or love of our country, was in ancient imes properly known by the name of virtue, because twas the greatest of all virtues, and was supposed to ontain all virtues in it: and many great examples of his virtue are left us on record, scarcely to be believed, or even conceived, in such a base, corrupted, wicked ge as this we live in. In those times it was common for men to facrifice their lives for the good of their country, although they had neither hope or belief of thure rewards; whereas, in our days, very sew make the least scruple of facrificing a whole nation, is well as their own souls, for a little present gain; which often hath been known to end in their own to in this world, as it certainly must in that to some.

Have we not seen men, for the sake of some petty imployment, give up the very natural rights and liberties of their country, and of mankind, in the ruin of which themselves must at last be involved? are not hese corruptions gotten among the meanest of our cople, who, for a price of money, will give their otes at a venture, for the disposal of their own lives and fortunes, without considering whether it be to hose who are most likely betray or to defend them?

But, if I were to produce only one instance of a undred wherein we fail in this duty of loving our ountry, it would be an endless labour; and therefore shall not attempt it.

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But here I would not be misunderstood: but the ove of our country, I do not mean Loyalty to our ling, for that is a duty of another nature; and a nan may be very loyal, in the common sense of he word, without one grain of public good at his fait. Witness this very kingdom we live in. I enly believe, that, since the beginning of the world, no nation upon earth ever shewed (all circumstances on side on the loyalty in all No. XXIV.

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their actions and behaviour, as we have done: and at the same time, no people ever appeared more unterly void of what is called a public spirit. When I say the people, I mean the bulk or mass of the people, for I have nothing to do with those in power.

Therefore I shall think my time not ill spent, if I can persuade most or all of you who hear me, to shew the love you have for your country, by endeavouring, in your several stations, to do all the public good you are able. For I am certainly persuaded, that all our missfortunes arise from no other original cause than that general disregard among us so the public welfare.

I therefore undertake to shew you three things. First, That there are few people so weak or mean, who have it not sometimes in their power to be use. ful to the public.

Secondly, That it is often in the power of the meanest among mankind to do mischief to the pub

lic.

And, lastly, That all wilful injuries done to the public are very great and aggravated fins in the fight of God.

First, then, there are few people so weak or mean who have it not sometimes in their power to be use

ful to the public.

Solomon tells us of a poor wise man who saved city by his counsel. It hath often happened that private soldier, by some unexpected brave attempt hath been instrumental in obtaining a great victory. How many obscure men have been authors of ver useful inventions, whereof the world now reaps to benefit? The very example of honesty and industry a poor tradesman will sometimes spread through neighbourhood, when others see how successful he and thus so many useful members are gained, so which the whole body of the public is the better which the whole body of the public spirit, so will certainly put it into his way to make use of the blessing

blefling, for the end it was given him, by some means or other: and therefore it hath been observed in most iges, that the greatest actions for the benefit of the commonwealth, have been performed by the wisdom or courage, the contrivance or industry, of particular men, and not of numbers; and that the safety of a sation hath often been owing to those hands from whence it was least expected.

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THE YEAR NINETY-THREE.

A SONG.

OME hither good people, come hither and hear, The dainty fine deeds of this marvellous year, for ever and ever each Briton fo free, In triumph shall carol the year Ninety-Three.

Derry down.

We all call to mind not a twelvemonth ago,
Our trade was increasing, our riches did flow;
Each heart was then light, fill'd with mirth and with
glee,

We had not yet come to the year Ninety-Three.

Derry down.

The devil ill bearing to fee us fo gay,

To tame our proud spirits, soon found out a way;
In his friend Billy's ear he was ever a slea,

Crying" war Billy war," then behold Ninety-Three.

Derry down.

Only shutters are seen, they all shut up their shops, Whole samilies ruined! 'twas piteous to see—
Oh what a fine year was the year Ninety-Three!!!

Derry down.

Brave Britons are dying with hunger around.

Or at famine's approach to the Continent flee, And York lets their blood—that's the year Ninety. Three.

Derry down,

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By sea and by land, nought but shame and deseat,
("Tis the judgment of heaven) our arms'ever ment.
The like Britain never, no never, did see!

Oh shame of all shames, is the year Ninety-Three.

Derry down.

In ancient good times 'twas the Briton's proud boal,
To be loyal, yet free, King and Country his toal,
To praise or to censure then boldly dar'd he—
'Twas in ancient good times—not in year Ninety.
Three.

Derry dawn

Now pillory, whipping post, British bastille,
The loss of old times makes each Englishman seel:
No spirit, no thought, now dare circulate free,
For Pitt, Kenyon, Dundas, in curst Ninety-Three,
Derry down.

THE PROGRESS OF LIBERTY.

Tune-" Britannia rule the Waves."

HARK! hark! on yonder distant shore,
The noisy din of war I hear;
The sword's unsheath'd—the cannons roar,
And Gallia's sons in arms appear,
Tis France, 'tis France, the people cry,
Fighting for sacred Liberty.

Though num'rous armies her invade;
Of warlike slaves a barb'rous host;
Of Despets crown'd, a grand crusade,
To crush her Liberty they boast.

FOR THE SWINISH MULTITUDE.

But France like Britain will befree, Or bravely die for Liberty.

No more the grinding hand of Power,
The op'ning bud of Reason blights;
On eagle's wings fair Truth shall tower,
For Man begins to know his Rights.
The iron yoke we crumbling see,
Beneath the Cap of Liberty.

Go on, great fouls, no dangers lear,
Your glorious Standard high erect;
Then Freemen to it will repair,
And Providence your cause protect.
Go, plant on distant shores the Tree,
Sacred to god-like Liberty.

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e,

No dreams of conquest you inspire,
Great Nature's Cause depends on thee;
Europe will catch the sacred sire,
And bid adieu to Slavery.
Then raise your warlike banners high,
And rally under Liberty.

No longer war, of Kings the spoil,
Usurping nations shall divide;
Nor stain with blood each fruitful soil,
By Nature form'd to be allied.
But Britons hope the world to see
Unite in Peace and Liberty.

DESCRIPTION OF GOVERNMENT, AS REALLY OR FICTITIOUSLY FREE.

By Dr. PRICE ..

Have observed, that though, in a great state, all the individuals that compose it cannot be admitted an immediate participation in the powers of legislation.

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tion and government, yet they may participate in these powers by a delegation of them to a body of representatives. In this case it is evident that the state-will be still free or felf-governed; and that it will be more or less so in proportion as it is more or less fairly and adequately represented. If the persons to whom the trust of government is committed, hold their places for fhort terms; if they are chosen by the unbiassed voices of a majority of the state, and subject to their instructions; Liberty will be enjoyed in its highest degree. But if they are chosen for long terms by a part only of the flate; and if during that term they are subject to no controut from their confi. tuents; the very idea of liberty will be loft, and the power of chusing representatives becomes nothing but a power, lodged in a few, to chuse at certain periods, a body of masters for themselves and for the rest of the community. And if a state is so sunk that the majority of its representatives are elected by a handful of the meanest persons in it, whose voices are always paid for; and if also, there is a higher will on which even these mock representatives themfelves depend, and that directs their voices: in their circumstances, it will be an abuse of language to say that the state possesses liberty. Private men, indeed, might be allowed the exercise of liberty; as they might also under the most despotic government; but it would be an indulgence or connivance derived from the spirit of the times, or from an accidental mildness in the administration. And, rather than be governed in such a manner, it would perhaps be better to be governed by the will of one man without my representation: for a representation so degenerated could answer no other end than to missead and deceive, by difguifing flavery, and keeping up a form of liberty when the reality was loft.

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THE ADVANTAGES ACCRUING TO MAN-KIND FROM A HABITUAL CONSCIOUS-NESS OF THEIR BEING EQUAL.

From Barlow's Advice to Privileged Orders.

IN the United States of America, the Science of Liberty is univerfally understood, felt, and pracised, as much by the simple as the wife, the weak as the strong. The deep-rooted and inveterate habit of thinking, that all men are equal in their Rights, that it is impossible to make them otherwise; and this being their undisturbed belief, they have no conception how any man in his fenfes can entertain any other. This point once fettled, every thing is fettled. Many operations, which in Europe have been confidered as incredible tales or dangerous experiments, are but the infallible consequences of this great principle. The first of these operations is the Bufiness of Election, which, with that people is carried on with as much gravity as their daily labour. There is no jealoufy on the occasion, nothing lucrative in office; any man in fociety may attain to any place in the government, and may exercise its functions. They believe that there is nothing more difficult in the management of the affairs of a nation than the affairs of a family; that it only requires more hands. They believe that it is the juggle of keeping up impositions to blind the eyes of the vulgar, that conflitutes the intricacy of state. Banish the mysticism of inequality, and you banish almost all the evils attendant on human nature.

Another consequence of the habitual idea of Equality, is the facility of changing the structure of their Government whenever and as often as the Society shall think there is any thing in it to amend. As Mr. Burke

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Mr. Burke has written no "Reflections on the Revolution" in America, the people there have never been told that they had no right "to frame a government for themselves;" they have therefore done much of this business, without ever affixing to it the idea of "Sacrilege," or "Usurpation," or any other term of rant to be found in that Gentleman's Vocabulary.

Within a few years, the Fifteen States have not only framed each its own State-Constitution, and Two successive Federal Constitutions; but since the settlement of the present general Government in the year 1789, three of the States, Pennsylvania, South-Carolina, and Georgia, have totally new-modeled their own. And all this is done without the least consusion; the operation being scarcely known beyond the limits of the State where it is performed. Thus they are in the habit of "choosing their own Governors," of "coshiering them for miscondust," of "framing a Government for themselves," and all those abominable things, the mere naming of which, in Mr. Burke's opinion, has polluted the pulpit in the Old Jewry.

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PENNY NUMBERS WEEKLY, as the preceding Part of this Work.

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